

MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

Vol. XXIII, Summer, 1939

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Published Quarterly by the
MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION
LANSING

Entered as second-class matter February 23, 1923, at the postoffice at
Lansing, under Act of August 24, 1912.



A complete index of the *Michigan History Magazine* is published annually and furnished free on request. Contents of previous issues and numerous cross references to allied material can be found by consulting the *International Index to Periodicals* in the nearest Library.

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INDIAN LEGEND OF THE DELUGE

BY IVAN SWIFT

(As related to him by Albert Wabanossa)

"FIRST PLACE *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* had big black dog called Thunder. One time dog go down to lake to drink water. He didn't come back. Sea-god suck him in, I guess. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* was pretty mad. He take sharp spear, get in boat, go out on lake. He cry out, 'Sea-god, I defy you! I defy you! You steal my Thunder dog. I defy you, *Miche-la-ne-gwe*!'

"After while big fish come up—smash them boat all sliver. He swallow *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* all whole. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* hang on his spear. When he's inside he stick spear in whale guts. Whale go crazy, swim round, make big waves. (Now when lake make big waves Indian say *Miche-la-ne-gwe* he's mad.) Bimeby big fish run up on shore—*Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* come out—run away.

"After while, all sea animal want come up on sand to get sun, but sea-god he's 'fraid *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo*. He send sea-serpent out to look for *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo*. Bimeby sea-serpent come back say, 'I see only black stump on beach. I don't see *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo*.' Sea-god say 'You go wind round stump—squeeze tight. Maybe *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo*.'

"Sea-serpent go out—wind round stump—squeeze tight. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* pretty near squeal—but he don't squeal. Sea-serpent go back say, 'He don't squeal.'

The legend was related to the writer at night before a pottery-kiln by an inhabitant of the Garden River reservation, and set down as nearly as could be without stenography. The Indian was fairly educated and an actor capable of drama, but claimed very ancient origin for this and other parallel traditions.

"Then sea-god send sea-tiger to stump. Sea-tiger go, scratch hard in stump. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* pretty near cry this time, but he don't cry. Tiger go back say, 'I find only stump on beach. I don't find *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo*.'

"Then all sea animal go out on beach to get sun. They have nice picnic. Bimeby sharp arrow come from stump, hit big polar-bear in side. Then they know that's *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* turned into stump. He have to run away.

"Bimeby he meet Mr. Frog on road—look like doctor—eye-glass, medicine-case, thermometer, I 'spose. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* he say, 'Nice morning. Where you go today?' Dr. Frog say, 'Polar-bear get hurt. I go doctor bear.'

"*Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* don't like this very much. So he kill frog, take off his skin, put on himself, go doctor polar-bear. When he get there he say, 'I have to pull out arrow little bit every day. Then you live.' But this medicine-man he push *in* arrow little bit every day. Polar-bear die. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* take bear skin, run away.

"Then sea-god know he's got quack-doctor. He's pretty mad. He make big waves run over all the land to drown *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo*, so he don't make some more trouble. Bimeby *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* meet Mud Hen. He tell Mud Hen to drink up waves so he can get away. Mud Hen try to drink up waves. Bimeby she's too full—she bust.

"Then waves go on again. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* he run fast, he's pretty tired. He see Badger dig hole, fill up hole behind him with dirt. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* tell Badger take him in hole till wave go over. Badger take him in all right. When he come out he's glad he don't drown. He throw polar-bear skin on Mr. Badger. (After that badger always have white stripe all round.)

"Bimeby water is all over world. *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* he's got no land to be king. He build big boat—take in all animals, birds, everything he's got. Long time he float round on big water. Bimeby he call Beaver. He say, 'You best diver in world. You go down get some dirt, I have to build 'nother world.' Beaver

he bite on that nice words. He dive down. Bimeby he come up, all puff. He's dead.

"Few days more *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* call Muskrat to go down get dirt. Muskrat go down long time. Bimeby he come up dead, but *Ne-naw-bo-zhoo* see he's got one little paw close tight. He open little paw—he find some dirt hold tight in little paw!

"That's way he make 'nother world. Land-god and sea-god don't fight much any more."

INDIAN CHIEFS OF MICHIGAN

By E. F. GREENMAN

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AMONG the Algonquian-speaking tribes of Michigan the institution of chieftainship appears to have had no formal foundations. Chiefs were, so far as the earliest records indicate, neither elective nor hereditary, and there is no record suggesting that a single individual was ever regarded as the supreme authority of his group in all matters. Special fitness of an individual for certain purposes was recognized, and consequently while one respected man may have been recognized as authority in civil matters within the group, and to that extent a chief, another might at the same time be in full charge of activities of a military nature. Thus chieftainship rested upon influence, and continued as long as that influence was maintained.

Each clan usually was headed by a chief of its own, and among the Algonquian tribes, including some of those in Michigan, for occasions of a special nature at least, the chief of the tribe was chosen by a council of clan chiefs, but so far as is known his term of office was not prescribed, nor the extent of his authority agreed upon.

Blackbird, Andrew J. The son of an Ottawa chief of Middle Village or Goodhart, the site of the ancient village of L'Arbre Croche. Born in the second decade of the nineteenth century, his father's name was Mackawdebenessy, meaning "black hawk," of which the name "Blackbird" is a mis-translation. Mr. Blackbird's book, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, contains in addition to matter pertaining to the title, also an account of the author's life, which is of especial interest in being one of the few accounts of the experiences of a Michigan Indian in adapting himself to the conditions of white civilization.

Mr. Blackbird was baptized a Roman Catholic at an early age, in 1825 at Seven Mile Point north of Harbor Springs. In

1840 he became a clerk in a store at Mackinac Island, and at the end of the winter of that year he moved to Old Mission. For four years beginning in 1845 he attended the Twinsburg Institute, at Twinsburg, Summit county, Ohio, where instruction was given by the founder, Reverend Samuel Bissell, for a fee ranging from two to four dollars a term, with living expenses not greater than one dollar and a half a week. Returning after four years to Little Traverse, the modern Harbor Springs, Mr. Blackbird advocated temperance among his people and was instrumental in gaining them the right of citizenship in the state of Michigan. During negotiations for the treaty of 1855 he attended a council in Detroit where he worked for the cause of government education of the Ottawa, and protested against misuse of funds previously appropriated for that purpose. Previous to 1856 he became a Protestant, taught school, and interpreted in Protestant missions. In the fall of 1856 he started for Detroit with the intention of going to the University of Michigan. He was refused assistance by the Indian agent of the Mackinac agency because he had voted the "black Republican ticket," but later received the amount of his passage to Detroit after threatening to carry the matter to higher authorities. In Detroit the young Indian interviewed Lewis Cass, and was advised to attend Ypsilanti State Normal School. Through the influence of Cass he received an allowance from the government, but at the end of two and one-half years, in an impoverished condition he was forced to give up his schooling. For a time he obtained work wherever he could find it, lecturing occasionally on the subject of the Michigan Indians, and finally secured enough money to return to Little Traverse. In 1858 he was married to a woman of English descent, whom he had met at Ypsilanti State Normal School. Mr. Blackbird was appointed United States Interpreter for the Mackinac Agency in 1861, and after the Civil War he became an auxiliary prosecutor of Indian soldier claims, handling also many claims for the widows and orphans of

white men. For eleven years he held the position of postmaster at Little Traverse.

A brother of Mr. Blackbird, William, studied for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Rome, but shortly before being ordained he died of an injury received when run over by a wagon, in Michigan. Andrew was a cousin of Kanapima, or Augustin Hamelin, Jr., who was appointed chief of the Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan in 1835.

Mr. Blackbird died in the county poorhouse at Brutus, Michigan, in September, 1908, and was buried in Little Traverse cemetery.

Cheecheebingway. A Potawatomi chief, also known as Alexander Robinson, born at Mackinaw City, Michigan, in 1789. The *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, has the following to say of him: "His father was a Scotch trader, his mother an Ottawa. Although but five years of age when General Anthony Wayne fought the battle of the Miami in 1794, of which he was an accidental observer, Robinson retained a vivid recollection of what he saw on that occasion. He was present at the surrender of the fort at Chicago during the War of 1812, and tried in vain to prevent the massacre of the troops, succeeding in carrying off Capt. Helm, the commandant, and his wife, in a canoe, traversing the entire length of L. Michigan and placing them in safety at Mackinaw It is stated that, probably in 1827, he prevented the young men of his tribe from making an attack on Fort Dearborn. In the Black Hawk War of 1832 Robinson and his people espoused the cause of the whites. . . . He served as interpreter for General Lewis Cass during his treaty negotiations with the Chippewa, June 6, 1820."

Kinonchamek. The son of Minavavana, chief of the Chippewa of Michilimackinac during Pontiac's uprising in 1763. During the siege of Detroit, on June 18, more than a month after the fighting had begun, Kinonchamek, then a young man probably in his twenties, arrived at Pontiac's camp from Michilimackinac in company with the Jesuit du Jaunay, eight Chippewa

and seven Ottawa, bringing news of the massacre of the British garrison. Pontiac ordered a cessation of fighting for the next day while the Indians assembled in council to hear the words of the son of the chief of the Chippewa. At this council Kinonchamek had the temerity to reproach Pontiac for killing the English unnecessarily, and for allowing them to be eaten. He justified the massacre at Michilimackinac by pointing out that only soldiers had been killed, whereas non-combatants had suffered that fate at Detroit. The young Chippewa also criticised Pontiac for being improvident, and robbing the French settlers, always friends of the Indians, to support his army of besiegers. Kinonchamek and his followers returned to Michilimackinac on June 22, and it does not appear that his message, which was given in the name of his father, Minavavana, had any effect upon Pontiac's subsequent policies.

Kishkawko. A chief of the Saginaw Chippewa, and one of the few Michigan Indians who remained bitterly and sometimes effectively hostile to the American after the War of 1812. The date of his birth is not known, but he died by his own hand in 1826. Kishkawko was one of the signers of the treaty of Saginaw, in 1819, and in a trial at law in Saginaw in 1860, to settle a dispute concerning a reservee in that treaty, an Indian named Kawgagezhic testified that Kishkawko attempted to cede the land of the Saginaw Chippewa without their knowledge. The Indians in 1819 were indebted to Louis Campau, a trader, for about fifteen hundred dollars, and he was in attendance at the close of the negotiations, intending to collect his money as soon as the Indians were paid by the government. Three other traders were also present, however, and they persuaded Kishkawko, who was under the influence of liquor, to tell the commissioner that the Indians preferred that the sum be paid to them first rather than directly to Louis Campau as the commissioner had suggested. The result was that the Indians got their money and spent it purchasing goods from the other traders instead of paying their debt.

Kishkawko was a vicious man, not only to his white enemies

but to those of his own race. In 1823 he killed a Delaware Indian who was the husband of a Chippewa woman of his own band, when the Indian had been absolved, by the native custom, of killing a Chippewa in a drunken brawl. The Delaware had walked past the assembled relatives of the dead man, and they had acquitted him of guilt by not molesting him, but he was killed by Kishkawko as he passed in front of him. Kishkawko shouted defiance to the Americans even after signing treaties with them. In the year 1822 a detachment of Third United States Infantry was sent to Saginaw when the Chippewa became restless and ill-tempered. A rude fort was erected on the site occupied by the Taylor House in 1897, not far from the lodge of Kishkawko. Each hour the sentry called out that all was well, and one night each call was followed by a series of disconcerting yells, said to be the war-whoop, from Kishkawko. The chief was silenced only after two charges of grape shot had been fired into the trees above his lodge.

Kishkawko killed himself by drinking poison, while in prison in Detroit, in 1826. He and his son were awaiting trial for the murder, in one account of another Indian, and in another account of a white man.

Kondiaronk. A Huron chief living at Michilimackinac during the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was also known as The Rat, Sastaretsi and as Adario, the latter being the name given to him by Baron de Lahontan in his *New Voyages to North-America*, which was first published in 1703. Lahontan was a great admirer of Kondiaronk, and caused him to speak for his race in a long imaginary discussion contrasting the cultures of the Europeans and the Indians, in which the religious beliefs and moral conduct of the latter were set at some advantage over those of the former. The place and date of Kondiaronk's birth are not known, but it is likely that he was among the Huron who survived the Iroquois wars of 1650 and fled westward.

Kondiaronk was one of the ablest Indians in American history, and among the native leaders of the middle west is to

be placed beneath only Pontiac and Tecumseh,—perhaps above them in his capacity for strategy, for he conserved his own forces by setting his enemies upon one another in the event for which he is chiefly renowned.

In 1687 and 1688 the French and English in America were each trying to win the Iroquois to their side, and the English denied the claim of the French to the region of the upper lakes. New France was in trouble at this time, with disease decimating the soldiers at Forts Niagara and Frontenac. Famine and destitution were spreading, and the prowling of the Iroquois around the upper settlements made it unsafe for anyone to live outside a palisade. Above Three Rivers the entire population was stockaded in forts hastily built around each seigniory. Denonville, governor-general of New France, was unable to get more troops from across the ocean with which to quell the Iroquois, and finally turned to diplomacy, sending some Iroquois captives to Onondaga in northern New York, with gifts and peaceful messages. The result was the sending in 1688 of a body of 1,200 Iroquois to Montreal under the chief Big Mouth, who informed the French that the Iroquois were subjects of neither the English nor the French, but wished to be friends of both. A tentative declaration of neutrality was drawn up, and Big Mouth promised that deputies representing the entire Iroquois confederacy would soon come to Montreal and negotiate a general and lasting peace. In due time these deputies began their journey, but they were intercepted at La Famine, at the mouth of Salmon river on the present site of Port Ontario, New York, by Kondiaronk. Kondiaronk was at this time about forty years of age, according to Lahontan, and he had come down from Michilimackinac with one hundred men in search of enemy Iroquois. Stopping on the way at Fort Frontenac he learned of the impending peace between the Iroquois and the French, consummation of which boded ill for the Hurons and their Algonquian allies of the upper lakes, for as Kondiaronk shrewdly realized, it was to be a separate peace exclusive of the native allies of the

French. Pretending to return to Michilimackinac Kondiaronk and his men departed for La Famine, where they waited in hiding for a few days until the appearance of the Iroquois deputies, headed by Tegannisorens, a famous chief. As they landed their canoes the Hurons opened fire, killing one chief and wounding others. All, with the exception of one who escaped, were made prisoners, and in pursuance of the strategem he had in mind, Kondiaronk informed them that he was acting on the orders of Denonville. When they objected that they were emissaries of peace, Kondiaronk simulated the whole gamut of emotions proper to the occasion, and after providing his victims with powder and guns he told them to return home and inform their people of the treachery of Denonville. The deputies returned, except one, whom Kondiaronk retained by authority of native custom to adopt. He then set out for Michilimackinac where the prisoner was turned over to the French officer in charge, who had not yet heard of the peace negotiations with the Iroquois. The prisoner's story was not believed against that of Kondiaronk, and he was shot at once. Kondiaronk's next move in this complicated sequence was to release an aged Iroquois man who had long been a prisoner among the Huron, instructing him to return to the Iroquois and tell them of the cruelty of the French to his compatriot.

Meanwhile the Indian who had escaped in the ambush at La Famine made his way to Fort Frontenac where he told his story. He was sent back to Onondaga with a message of regret from the French, and the Iroquois chiefs returned messages indicating satisfaction, but in reality their distrust and fury toward Denonville were only increased. After some months of silence the Iroquois landed to the number of 1500 at night in a violent storm at La Chine, on August 5, 1689, and began what Parkman describes as the most frightful massacre in Canadian history. More than a thousand Frenchmen were slain, and 26 were taken captive.

In 1701 Kondiaronk was present at the final council of

peace between the French at Montreal, and it was here, during negotiations, that he died, on August second.

Mikinac. An Ottawa chief residing at Detroit about 1745. Mikinac, whose name signifies "turtle," was active in the French interest. In 1747 he gathered the Saulteur, Ottawa and Potawatomi to go against Orontony, the Huron, who had conspired against the French in that year. Mikinac demanded that 100 French and Indians be sent to Detroit in the winter of 1747-1748, and sent a letter to French authorities requesting for himself "a fine scarlet coat, with silver facings, similar to that sent Kinousake, another Outaouas chief; a fine shirt and a silver hilted sword." In the letter reporting this request it was affirmed that "this chief desires these presents to be sent him this winter, so as to be able to decorate his person on the arrival of the Nations (Indians) in the spring, and to show, thereby, that he is not less esteemed than Kinousaki." The presents were granted.

Mikinac was the son of Big Head, who is described in an early record as "the most influential of the Outaouas du Sable." He spoke at a conference of Indians and French at Montreal, before de Calliere, governor-general of New France, in March, 1694 or 1695.

Apparently the Mikinac described above is the same man who is referred to by the Jesuit Marest in a letter dated at Michilimackinac, October 8, 1701, as an Indian who always behaved well toward the French. He is mentioned as a messenger in a letter from Marest to Cadillac in 1702, and in the same year as inviting the *Nokens* (probably the Chippewa *Noke* or *Noquet*,—"bear foot"), "to come and incorporate themselves with them, in whatever place they may wish to settle" (at Detroit). There was also an Ottawa sub-chief by the name of Mikinac in the Grand Traverse Bay region, who was one of the signers of a document appointing Augustin Hamelin chief of the Ottawa and Chippewa, in May 1835.

Minavavana. Chief of the Chippewa, and their leader during the massacre of the British garrison at Michilimackinac

in 1763, known to the French as Le Grand Saulteur. His village was on Thunder Bay. Minavavana was the father of Kinonchamek, who as a youth delivered his father's message of reproach to Pontiac during the siege of Detroit. Carver, who saw Minavavana, describes him in *Travels* as "a chief remarkably tall and well made, but of so stern an aspect that the most undaunted person could not behold him without feeling some degree of terror." He was at the time, 1767, "past the meridian of life."

After the massacre of the British garrison Minavavana advised the Ottawa, who had rescued the prisoners, including Alexander Henry, no longer to espouse the cause of the British, who, he claimed, were being defeated both by Pontiac and by the King of France. The Ottawa released some of the prisoners to the Chippewa, and among them Alexander Henry. Later, when the Indian Wawatam came to ask for Henry's release, Minavavana acceded.

Noonday. An Ottawa chief whose village was on the site of Grand Rapids in 1831. Shortly after that date he was converted to Christianity by the missionary Leonard Slater, and moved with him to Prairieville, Barry county. The name Noonday is a translation of *Quakezhik*, or *Nawequageezhig*, by both of which names he was known among his own people. Noonday was present at the burning of Buffalo on December 13, 1813, and witnessed the slaying of Tecumseh during the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813. Later, during a visit to Washington with Lewis Cass, he pointed out Colonel Richard M. Johnson as Tecumseh's slayer. During the Black Hawk war scare in Michigan in 1832 Noonday promised the help of his band of Indians if it should be needed by the white settlers. He was allowed \$100 by the terms of the treaty of August 30, 1831, with the Ottawa of Blanchard's Fork, Ohio, and in the treaty of March 28, 1836, Noonday was one of a number of chiefs described as of the "first class" who were allotted \$500 each. In July, 1828, when General Cass sent Reverend Isaac McCoy, Baptist missionary, to southeastern Kansas to look

for land suitable for the Michigan Indians, he was accompanied by Noonday and five others of his band. Noonday never learned the English language, always conversing with the whites by the aid of an interpreter. One account places the date of his death in 1855 or 1856. According to another he died at Gull Prairie, a short distance south of the Barry county line, and was buried in Richland cemetery. Still another account states that he died at the age of ninety-eight, and was buried near the mission at Prairieville. He had no children.

Pokagon, Leopold. A Potawatomi chief, and the father of the famous Simon Pokagon. J. N. B. Hewitt, in *Handbook of American Indians*, gives the meaning of *Pokagon* as "shield or buckler," and Simon Pokagon, in his book *Queen of the Woods*, gives an added translation, "protector." The date and place of Leopold's birth are not known, but Simon states that his father became chief of the Pokagon band at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He died in Cass county in 1841, when Simon was about ten years of age. Leopold first lived, in Michigan, in the village named after him in Berrien county. An early surveyor locates the village in Bertrand township on the north half of section 21 and the south half of section 16, but according to Simon Pokagon the village was in the same township but on the Michigan-Indiana state line. In 1838, after the removal of most of the Potawatomi from Michigan, Leopold purchased lands in Silver Creek township, Cass county, and moved his band there.

For forty-two years Leopold was a chief of the Michigan Potawatomi, second in rank only to Topenabee, and during that time he participated in and signed the treaties of September 27, 1833, September 20, 1828, and October 27, 1832. In articles supplementary to the first Leopold is listed as receiving \$2,000 in lieu of reservations of land, and in the treaty of 1832, described as a "second chief," he was allotted one section of land.

After 1781 the St. Joseph region was abandoned as a mis-

sionary field, and during his life Leopold made several trips to Detroit to ask for a Catholic missionary for his band. The last of these trips was in July 1830, when he made an appeal to Father Gabriel Richard. Frederick Reze was sent to Pokagon's village, and he baptized Leopold, about at the age of 55, and his wife as Elizabeth, at the age of 46.

On September 2, 1838, the Potawatomi of northern Indiana were assembled for removal to the West, but Leopold Pokagon and his band remained in Michigan by special permission of the government.

Pokagon, Simon. The last of the chiefs of the Potawatomi of Michigan, and the son of Leopold Pokagon. Simon was born in the village of Pokagon, in Berrien county, Michigan, in 1830. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Notre Dame University at South Bend, Indiana, where he remained three years. The next year he attended Oberlin College, at Oberlin, Ohio, remaining one year, finishing his education with two more years at Twinsburg, Ohio, where he met Andrew J. Blackbird, the son of an Ottawa chief from Harbor Springs. In later life Simon Pokagon made two trips to Washington to confer with President Lincoln concerning the payments due to the Potawatomi for the sale of Chicago and adjacent territory to the United States in 1833. In 1866 he succeeded in securing \$39,000, and later the Supreme Court ratified a grant of \$150,000, which was paid in 1896.

Simon Pokagon felt strongly the injustice of the treatment of the Potawatomi, and of all Indians, at the hands of the United States government and of private individuals, particularly in the failure of the government to carry out their treaty promises and the illegal sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians. In the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 he saw an opportunity to bring to public attention the grievances of his people and their capacity for the assimilation of white civilization. Upon first hearing of the planned exposition he conceived the idea of organizing a congress on the grounds, to be attended by educated members of his race, but

he was unable to interest the proper authorities and the plan was given up. Returning to his home in Michigan from attendance at the opening day of the Fair on May 1, he wrote a booklet entitled *The Red Man's Greeting*, in which he presented the case of the Indians and told of his unsuccessful plan for an Indian congress. The booklet was printed on birch bark and sold on the grounds. Later, after it came to the attention of Carter Harrison, mayor of Chicago, Pokagon was invited to attend the Exhibition as a guest of the city on Chicago Day. Pokagon accepted and took a prominent part in the ceremonies, presenting Mayor Harrison with a parchment copy of the treaty by which the Indians had delivered Chicago and the surrounding region to the Americans. The ceremony closed with an address by Pokagon in which he spoke admirably and convincingly of the wrongs suffered by his people in the past, and stated his conception of the proper treatment of the Indians in the future. Sometime after the Exposition a monument was erected in Jackson Park, by the people of Chicago to the memory of Simon Pokagon and his father.

Pokagon wrote many articles for such magazines as the *Arena*, *Forum*, *Chautauquan*, *Harpers*, and *Review of Reviews*, and often lectured before pioneer societies. He was a writer of verse, his last production of this kind appearing in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* for January 23, 1899, in the Potawatomi language with the English translation. In the same year his largest single work, entitled *O-gi-maw-kwe Mit-i-gwa-ki (Queen of the Woods)*, was published at Hartford, Michigan, by C. H. Engle, shortly after his death. It is the story of the wooing of his first wife, whom he met while on a camping trip with his mother deep in the woods, after his return to Michigan from Twinsburg, Ohio. The girl Lonedaw, and Pokagon, were married after the native custom, and two children, a boy and girl, were born. In early youth the boy was sent to Twinsburg to school, but upon completing his education he returned to his home to die of alcoholism, and not long afterward the daughter was drowned when her canoe was upset by the boat

of two drunken white men. In attempting to save her daughter, and in the anguish at her death, Pokagon's wife received a shock which resulted in her own death. The last two chapters of the book are a diatribe against the sale and use of alcoholic liquors.

The book contains a complete account of the author's life, written by the publisher. There is also an appendix containing letters, newspaper accounts, the preface of *The Red Man's Greeting*, and other items concerning Pokagon. In the frontispiece is an excellent picture of the chief which was taken at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the city of Holland, Michigan. As an introduction to the narrative of the book, which contains many Potawatomi words, there is a brief sketch of that language. Pokagon was a student of Greek, Latin, and French, and was probably the best educated Indian of his time.

biog Pontiac. Leader of the central Algonquian tribes in their revolt against British domination in 1763, which culminated in the siege of Detroit lasting from May 10 until October in that year. Little is known of Pontiac's early life. He was born about 1720 in northern Ohio, probably on the Maumee river. His father was an Ottawa, but his mother appears to have been a Chippewa. It is said that he commanded the Ottawa in 1746 in defense of Detroit against an attack of Indians from the north, and that he led the Ottawa and Chippewa in Braddock's defeat in Pennsylvania in 1755. His first prominent appearance in history was in 1760, when he met Major Robert Rogers, who had been dispatched to take possession of Detroit for the British, at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River on the present site of Cleveland, Ohio, on November 7. Pontiac at first opposed the advance of Major Rogers, but learning for the first time of the defeat of the French at Quebec, acquiesced and later prevented an attack on Roger's troops at the entrance of the Detroit River.

Pontiac was governed by two complementary ambitions, to make himself head of the confederated Indians of the Middle

West and South, and to maintain French supremacy in the region west of the Alleghanies. In the latter he represented the feelings of all the Indians of that region, and the westward advance of the British after the fall of Quebec threatened his other ambition. When he learned of the taking of Quebec by the English he was for a short time inclined to remain at peace with them, but finding that they did not acknowledge him as the leader of the various tribes, and believing the current rumor to the effect that the French were preparing to reassert their power in Canada, he sent messages of war in all directions, proclaiming a plan to make a sudden attack on all the British forts in the West, at a given time toward the end of May, 1763. Most of the forts were taken by the Indians and the garrisons massacred or taken captive, but those at Detroit and Pittsburgh were successfully defended and the Indians were forced to lay siege.

Pontiac had reserved for himself the command of the attack upon Fort Gratiot at Detroit, and it was a bitter disappointment that the fort did not at once fall into his hands. Previous to the attack, having gathered the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Chippewa, Mississauga, and Huron at a point on the Ecorse River 10 miles from the fort, he related the insults which he and his people had received from the English, exhibited war-belts which he claimed to have received from the King of France, and told the story of a dream of a Delaware Indian, many elements of which appealed to the Indians in much the same manner, and for the same purpose, as did the religious teachings of The Prophet in 1805. The Delaware Indian, said Pontiac, desiring to see or to know "The Master of Life," entered into a trance in order to do so. In the accompanying dream he set out upon a hunting trip, and at the end of eight days found himself on a level plain at the farther end of which the path divided into three branches. After trying two of these unsuccessfully he found himself on the third path at the bottom of a white mountain where a woman informed him that his destination lay over the mountain, but that he

must discard his clothes, and all that he had with him. Proceeding, from the top of the mountain he looked out upon the realm of the "Master of Life," and descending, sat by his side, receiving instructions for the Indians to conduct themselves after the manner of their forefathers, to remain friends with the French and drive the English out. The Indians were also to practice monogamy, to drink intoxicating liquors only twice a day at most, to stop conjuring evil spirits, and to keep the white people from their lands.

Pontiac's exhortations were effective, and his listeners were brought into the proper mood to consider definite plans. On Sunday, May 1, Pontiac with a number of young men, went inside the fort ostensibly to dance a peace dance, but secretly to make observations of the condition of the garrison. Later Pontiac again addressed the assembled tribes at a point two or three miles below the fort, where it was decided that with 60 chosen men he should go to the fort and ask the commandant for a hearing. The Indians were to have their weapons hidden under their blankets, and were to be followed by as many others, similarly armed, as could gain admittance, and who were to stroll around casually until the signal for attack was given. As is well known, this plan was discovered in some manner by Gladwin, commandant of the fort, and when Pontiac and his followers came they found the British soldiers in formation on the drill ground. After another unsuccessful attempt to take the fort by strategy, Pontiac ordered the entire body of Indians across the river to establish villages, and the siege was begun on May tenth. The fort still remained in the hands of the defenders when hostilities ceased, shortly after October 31, when Pontiac had received a message from Neyon, commandant of the French Fort Chartres in the Illinois country, to the effect that the Indians could expect no help from the French. After Pontiac had attempted to raise recruits from among the Indians along the Mississippi, he made final peace with the British at Oswego on Lake Ontario on July 24, 1766.

The several documented accounts of Pontiac's death differ, but most of them agree that he was killed somewhere along the Mississippi River in the general region of St. Louis, by another Indian. In any event he seems to have gone back from Oswego to his home on the Maumee, where he spent the winter hunting and trapping. After that time there is no record of his activities until April, 1769. Parkman's version of his death, and the one most widely accepted, is that in April, 1769, he went to St. Louis to visit French friends. After two or three days he heard of the assembly of a large number of Indians at Cahokia, now East St. Louis, Illinois. He crossed the river to attend, and was killed by a Kaskaskia Indian, either out of his love for the English or under the motivation of a bribe from an English trader. Pontiac's murder brought about a series of wars between the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sacs and Foxes, and the tribes of the Illinois, including the Kaskaskias, Peorias and Cahokias, in which the latter were almost exterminated.

Pontiac's courage and intelligence, and the thoroughness of his methods, excited great admiration among his friends and enemies. He gave receipts to the French settlers around Detroit for supplies commandeered by him during the siege, and it was said of him in 1765 that he kept two secretaries, one to write for him and another to read the letters he received, so managing them as to keep each one ignorant of the business transacted by the other. Parkman relates an incident in which, having been warned by his warriors that the contents of a bottle of brandy sent him by Major Robert Rogers might be poisoned, Pontiac replied that Rogers could not take his life since he himself had saved his, and drank the brandy.

Pontiac had several wives contemporaneously, and left a number of children. A speech of one son, named Shegenaba, is contained in Force's American Archives, 4th. Series, iii. 1542, under date of 1775. There was another son, Otussa, who was buried on the Maumee River. Schoolcraft speaks of a de-

scendant of Pontiac whom he knew personally, and who was a chief of an Ottawa village on the Maumee.

One of the chief sources of information concerning Pontiac and the siege of Detroit is the *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763*. It was written in French by an unknown author who probably was an occupant of the fort during the events related. The manuscript was secured from a French family in Detroit during Lewis Cass' time and, both in the original and in translation by R. Clyde Ford, has been published in book form under the auspices of the Michigan Society of Colonial Wars.

Saguina. An Ottawa chief who was largely responsible for delivering the French at Detroit from destruction at the hands of the Foxes and Mascoutens in 1712. At the time Saguina and his followers arrived at Detroit, together with Indians of other tribes, his wife was held prisoner in the inclosure of the Foxes, and he was urged by the Hurons, who told him that at that moment his wife was being burned, to attack at once. But the report proved to be false, and later during the siege she, with two other Indian women, were delivered to the French fort by the Foxes.

The exact location of Saguina's village at Michilimackinac is not known. That he was a chief of unusual power is indicated in a letter from the Jesuit Marest to Vaudreuil, governor-general of New France, a few weeks after the Foxes had been repulsed and destroyed. "Saguina was very desirous of going to pay his respects to you," the letter reads, "but it was thought advisable for him to remain for the safety of the village at Michilimackinac, for in his absence the enemy might make some attack on us, whereas his mere presence might stop all the enemies' schemes." Saguina, however, did make the trip later, either to Montreal or to Quebec, with Mikisabie, a Potawatomi chief, and for his services in the Fox siege he received a vest and one or two red blankets.

Apparently it was Saguina, referred to as *Sakena* and *Sakiema* in the English military records, who went with a

number of other Indians, including women and children, to Albany in 1723 to enquire if they might trade with the English. These Indians, Ottawa and Huron, were given encouragement and provided with goods for the return trip. There were 80 men in the party.

Shingabawassin. A Chippewa chief whose known incumbency was from 1763 to 1825. He was a member of the crane clan, and lived in and near Sault Ste. Marie. In the treaty of 1825, negotiated at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, by Lewis Cass, he was acknowledged as head chief of the Chippewa, and signed his name to the treaty as such. Shingabawassin also signed the treaty of Sault Ste. Marie, on June 11, 1820. He died between the years 1828 and 1837. The *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, is authority for the following statement concerning this chief: "He seems to have risen, to a large extent, above the primitive beliefs of his people, and even went so far in one of the councils as to advise making known to the whites the situation of the great copper deposits, although these were regarded by the Indians as sacred. A favorite scheme which he advanced and vigorously advocated, but without effect, was to have the United States set apart a special reservation for the half-breeds." During his youth Shingabawassin took an active part in the wars between the Chippewa and the Sioux.

Tarhe. A Wyandot chief who was one of the native leaders in the Battle of Fallen Timbers near Maumee, Ohio, in 1794, and whose efforts were largely responsible for the success of the treaty of Greenville. Tarhe was born at Detroit in 1742, and was a member of the porcupine clan of the Wyandots, or Huron. He died at Cranetown near Upper Sandusky, Wyandot County, Ohio, in November, 1818. The name Tarhe signifies "Crane." To the English he was known as "Chief Crane" as well as by his native name, and to the French as "Le Chef Grue." Tarhe fought in the Battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. He opposed Tecumseh's war policy from 1808 until the War of 1812, and participated in the Battle of the Thames in

Ontario on October 5, 1813, where Tecumseh fell. Some authorities attribute to him the leadership of the Wyandots during the War of 1812. The Wyandots were divided at this time, however, and Tarhe was at the head only of those in Ohio, who fought on the American side. The Wyandots occupied a preeminent position among the tribes of the middle west, as guardians of the great "council fire," a figure of speech signifying their power of summoning the various tribes in grand council, at Brownstown, Michigan. In the *Handbook of American Indians* it is stated that Tarhe was the chief priest of the Wyandots, and as such was the custodian of the calumet by which the tribes were bound in this confederation for protection against the whites. During the War of 1812 the Wyandots of Michigan, who fought on the British side, were in command of the chief Walk-in-the-Water or, as some Canadian authorities contend, the chief Round-head, who met his death during the War.

Tarhe signed the following treaties: January 31, 1786, at the Mouth of the Miami River, Ohio, with the Shawnee; January 9, 1789, at Fort Harmar; August 3, 1795, at Greenville, Ohio; July 4, 1805, at Fort Industry on the Maumee River, and July 22, 1814, at Greenville, Ohio.

He was over seventy years of age when he fought in the Battle of the Thames. After his death in 1818 all the tribes of Ohio, as well as the Delaware of Indiana and the Iroquois Seneca of New York, assembled in a mourning council at Upper Sandusky, Ohio. The place of his burial is unknown.

Tecumseh. The successor of Pontiac as the leader and organizer of the Indians of the Middle West against the encroachment of the white man, Tecumseh's activities were confined between the years 1786 and 1813. The name refers to a round-footed, quick-moving animal, probably the panther. Accounts differ as to the place of Tecumseh's birth, but it is generally accepted that he was born in 1768 at the Shawnee village of Piqua, about six miles northwest of the present city of Springfield, Ohio, of pure-blood Shawnee parents. The name

of his father was Puckeshinwau, and that of his mother was Methoataska. His father was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. Tecumseh was one of seven children, of whom five took an active part in the affairs of their tribe. Tecumseh and his brother, Tenskwatawa or The Prophet, were the only members of the family to achieve wide prominence.

During the formative period of his childhood and early youth Tecumseh was greatly influenced by the wars of the Revolutionary period, coming to regard the English as friends, and the Americans as enemies of the Indians of the border. Probably his first experience in battle was in a skirmish between the Indians and the American forces under the command of Captain Benjamin Logan, in 1786, near the present city of Dayton, Ohio, in which action the youthful Tecumseh was in charge of his brother, Cheeseekau. Later he took part in an attack on some flatboats which were descending the Ohio River, and after enduring a revolting scene in which the white man who survived the attack was burned, he exhibited his powers of oratory in a forceful denunciation of the act. About the year 1787, with his brother Cheeseekau, he went on a trip to the west among the Siouan Mandans where he broke his leg on a buffalo hunt. Remaining there for several months to recover, Tecumseh learned the language and customs of his hosts. The party then went into the south, and finding the Cherokee engaged in war with the Americans they joined in an attack upon a fort, an action in which Cheeseekau was killed. Tecumseh assumed leadership of the band, and after participating in many forays against the Americans they returned after an absence of three years to Ohio. Subsequently Tecumseh took part in the defeat of the American forces under General St. Clair in 1791, in skirmishes with the renowned Indian fighter Simon Kenton, and in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in which action another brother fell by his side. He refused to countenance the treaty of Greenville, asserting that it was signed by chiefs of no standing among the Indians.

In pursuance of his plan to unite the Indians from the

Great Lakes to Florida in an effort to keep the Americans out of the country north and west of the Ohio River, Tecumseh conceived the dictum that the lands of the Indians were owned by them in common, and were not to be ceded to the United States by separate tribes except by permission of a general council of the Indians. Tecumseh's brother, The Prophet, began to be known as a religious leader about the year 1801, and after the ideas advanced by these two men had begun to gather momentum and excite the settlers on the frontier, General Harrison called a council with Tecumseh at Vincennes, Indiana, on August 12, 1810. Tecumseh here asserted his doctrine, but Harrison denied the right of the Indians to confederate, saying that if the Great Spirit had meant them to be one nation he would not have put different tongues in their mouths. The Wyandots, Potawatomi, Ottawa, Winnebago and other tribes at this council now began to prepare for war, and Tecumseh left for the south to organize the Indians there. His own people, the Shawnee, never gave him much support, and Delaware Indians acted as paid spies for General Harrison before the Battle of Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, where the Prophet and his forces were defeated. When the War of 1812 broke out Tecumseh offered his forces to the British, and was given a commission as brigadier-general although according to a Canadian authority he had only 30 warriors at his command when he first appeared at Amherstburg after returning from the south. It was probably due to Tecumseh that the Michigan Wyandots, under Roundhead and Walk-in-the-Water, went over to the side of the British. Operating from his camp on Bois Blanc Island in Detroit River, Tecumseh and his followers constituted the intelligence corps of the British Army and were largely responsible for the withdrawal of the American forces from Canada when General Hull heard of the ambush and defeat of Van Horn at River Raisin. According to Canadian authorities it was due mainly to Tecumseh that Hull's line of communication with northern Ohio was broken up, at the Battle

of Magnagua on August 9, 1813. After the surrender of Detroit, Tecumseh went to northern Ohio and Indiana to recruit among the Indians, and was not present at the Battle of Frenchtown. After Perry's victory on Lake Erie, Tecumseh's forces covered the retreat of General Proctor, and he compelled Proctor to give battle to the Americans on the Thames River, near the present site of Chatham, Ontario. The British were defeated, and Tecumseh was killed, October 5, 1813. There is small doubt that his slayer was Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, who later became vice-president of the United States under Martin Van Buren. The Ottawa chief Noondag, who claimed to be at Tecumseh's side when he fell, many years later on a visit to Washington with Lewis Cass, pointed out Colonel Johnson as Tecumseh's slayer. This incident is discussed in the *Century Magazine* for June, 1885, and in the *American Mercury* for April, 1930.

Tenskwatawa. The twin brother of Tecumseh, who conceived and introduced a new religious movement among the Indians of the Middle West about the year 1801, this movement spreading far into the South and West. It was in part responsible for turning the Indians to the side of the British during the War of 1812. Tenskwatawa's original name was Lalawethika. After he became famous he changed his name to Tenskwatawa, and was also known as Elskwatawa and as The Prophet. It was in November, 1805, at or near the present city of Wapakoneta, Ohio, that he first announced his new religion, which he claimed was a revelation from the "Master of Life," and which involved denunciation of the native witchcraft, the use of intoxicating liquors, the use of the tools and clothing of the white men and of all customs derived from them. Intermarriage between the two races was banned, all property must be held in common after the ancient native custom, and youth was exhorted to respect the aged and infirm. The Prophet claimed also to be able to cure sickness, and his forecast of an eclipse of the sun in 1806 brought many new adherents and silenced his critics. The new religion spread rap-

idly among the Michigan Indians as elsewhere, and one of his emissaries, at L'Arbre Croche, was known as Le Magouis or The Trout. The Prophet's methods were similar to those of Indian medicine men or shamans generally, in that his revelations were received in dreams and trances. Like many of the true shamans a physical defect, one blind eye, marred his appearance.

The Prophet's influence received a fatal blow when, against Tecumseh's counsel, he gave battle to the American forces under General Harrison, and was defeated by him, at Tippecanoe, Indiana, on November 7, 1811. After the War of 1812 he received a pension from the British government, and resided in Canada until 1826. In that year he removed to Ohio, and thence in 1828 to Wyandotte county, Kansas, where he died in November 1837.

Walk-in-the-Water. The leader of the Wyandots of Michigan in the War of 1812. At this time the Wyandots were living in three separate localities. During the removal of the Wyandots to Kansas, the *Cincinnati Times* of July 19, 1843, reported and described their passage through that city to the number of 750. This number probably was not far from that living in Ohio under the chieftainship of Tarhe at Upper Sandusky, at the beginning of the War of 1812. There were 60 at this time near Malden in Ontario, and some 250 in Michigan living on a reservation allotted to them for fifty years by an act of congress dated February 28, 1809. They lived mainly in the two villages of Brownstown and Maguagua, situated respectively opposite the southern and northern ends of Grosse Isle. They raised corn and wheat with the aid of machinery furnished by the government, and hunted during the winter.

On February 28, 1812, a petition signed by Walk-in-the-Water and seven other Wyandot chiefs was presented to the house of representatives in Washington, setting forth their desire to be insured forever in occupation of their land along the Detroit River, indicating that they had cultivated the land, built houses and made valuable improvements which

would be of little value to their young men if they were to be removed at the end of fifty years according to the terms of the act of congress of February 28, 1809. They desired in addition that each Indian should receive 60 acres of land, and that 640 acres be granted to each of the chiefs, "to enable them to sustain the dignity of their offices, and to keep up their importance. . . ." A similar petition, signed by Walk-in-the-Water and eight other Wyandot chiefs, had been presented to Governor Hull on September 30, 1809, in which they asked to be allowed to continue in occupation of their reservation for one hundred years. One paragraph of this petition read as follows: "Father, listen! We hope you will not think it is for want of respect to you, that we make known our sentiments on paper, by our friend Jacob Visgar. . . ." Jacob Visgar was a farmer appointed by the government to instruct and assist the Wyandots. He was probably the writer of the petition received by the house of representatives in 1812. The petition of 1809 was signed first by "Black Chief," and second by "Maera, or Walk-in-the-Water," and that of 1812 bore Walk-in-the-Water's name first.

Walk-in-the-Water signed the following treaties with the United States: July 4, 1805, at Fort Industry on Maumee River, Ohio; November 17, 1807, at Detroit; and November 25, 1808, at Brownstown, in which the Wyandots ceded land in Ohio. He also signed the armistice of General Harrison with the Indians on October 14, 1813, as "Mayar or Walk-in-the-Water."

At the beginning of the War of 1812 Walk-in-the-Water informed General Hull that he would remain neutral, but after the fall of Michilimackinac he went over to the British, probably under pressure from his own warriors, fired by the eloquence of Tecumseh, rather than in pursuance of his own convictions. But the Wyandots held a position of great importance among the tribes, and this action on their part enlisted other tribes against the Americans, although those of Ohio under Tarhe remained faithful to the American cause.

The Wyandots under Walk-in-the-Water took part in the ambush of the Americans under Major Van Horn at Brownstown, and again in the action at Maguagua, where they were routed. Toward the end of the War, on September 8, 1813, Walk-in-the-Water sent a private message to General Harrison that he would try to induce the Indians to abandon the British, and that upon Harrison's advance he and his warriors would occupy the Huron church at Sandwich and defend themselves against the British and their Indian allies. As Harrison advanced up the Thames River, Walk-in-the-Water sent him a flag and asked for instructions. Harrison commanded him to move with his women and children farther up the creek upon which he was then encamped, and to remain there until after the battle, which he did.

The date of Walk-in-the-Water's death is not known, but he was buried in the Indian cemetery at Maguagua, on the present site of the city of Wyandotte, Michigan. It is said that his remains were later exhumed and taken east by an anti-quarian. The name of this Wyandot chief was given to the first steamboat to navigate Lake Erie and the Detroit River. Of some 340 tons burden, the Walk-in-the-Water arrived at Detroit on her first trip on August 22, 1818. The owner of the vessel was Josephus B. Stewart.

✓ *Waubojeeg*. A chief of the Chippewa of northern Michigan and Wisconsin, and defender of the Chippewa domain against encroachment on the part of surrounding tribes, particularly the Sioux. Waubojeeg, or White Fisher, was born about 1747 at Chequamigon Bay, and according to Warren in *History of the Ojibways*, was a member of a branch of the *Adik* ("Reindeer") clan which had migrated from Grand Portage on the north shore of Lake Superior in Minnesota, to La Pointe. The same authority states that Waubojeeg was the grandfather of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's first wife.

Waubojeeg was chief of the Chippewa for about twenty years, beginning in 1770, a period during which there was much fighting between the Chippewa and the allied Sioux and

Fox. His last battle, at the Falls of St. Croix, decided the possession of the St. Croix valley in favor of the Chippewa. Tradition relates a dramatic reunion of Waubojeeg with a half brother whom he had not seen since infancy, during a fight with the Sioux on St. Croix River. Waubojeeg challenged the chief of the Sioux to a duel, during which the assembled warriors of both sides were surprised to see their chiefs suddenly embrace. The Sioux, according to this tradition, was the half-brother of Waubojeeg, their mother having been stolen by the Sioux. Waubesha, the Siouan chief, was her son by a Siouan husband. This tradition was related on the occasion of a wedding at Buffalo Bay in 1897, four miles north of Bayfield, Wisconsin, in which the bride, Jeanette Nevieux, was a descendant of Waubojeeg.

Waubojeeg died of tuberculosis at Chequamigon Bay in 1793.

White Pigeon. A Potawatomi chief who won fame by saving the people of the settlement of White Pigeon, in St. Joseph county, from an attack by Indians, in 1812. The *Handbook of American Indians* has the following to say of White Pigeon: "The little that is known of him is derived chiefly from tradition. It is said that about 1812, while in the neighborhood of Detroit, he learned of an uprising among the Indians and of a threatened attack on the settlement that now bears his name, in St. Joseph county, Mich. Far from home and friends, he hastened to the scene of the impending trouble and by a timely warning saved the white settlers from possible massacre. He is described as tall and athletic, an unusually fleet runner, and as having possessed high ideals of truth and honor. According to Indian information he received his name because he was of much lighter complexion than the members of his tribe generally. He died at the age of about 30 years and was buried in a mound on the outskirts of the village of White Pigeon. Here, on Aug. 11, 1909, a monument, suitably inscribed, was erected to his memory under the auspices of the Alba Columba Club of women. White Pigeon signed, in behalf of

his band, the Greenville treaty of Aug. 3, 1795, and the treaty of Brownstown, Mich., Nov. 25, 1808. Two of his great-grandsons and a great-granddaughter (the wife of the great-grandson of Simon Pokagon) reside (1910) near Dorr, Michigan...."

Winamac. A Potawatami chief during the period of the War of 1812, whose name is translated as "Catfish." With the chiefs White Loon and Stone Eater, the latter a Miami of the Wea sub-tribe, he is said to have led the Indians in the Battle of Tippecanoe. Winamac signed the treaty of Greenville with the Potawatami of Huron, a band formerly living on Huron River, Michigan, about 40 miles from Detroit. He signed also the treaties of June 7, 1803, at Fort Wayne, of August 21, 1805, at Vincennes, and of September 30, 1809, at Fort Wayne. In the latter treaty a large tract of land in central Indiana was sold to the United States, and this act so enraged Tecumseh, who believed it had been brought about by the intimidation of Winamac, that he threatened Winamac's life, and violence between the two chiefs at the council of Vincennes, August 12, 1810, was avoided only by the presence of mind of General Harrison. Winamac claimed, probably without truth, to be the instigator of the massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn, Chicago, on August 15, 1812. He was killed three months later, on November 22, in an encounter with the Shawnee chief James Logan, near the rapids of the Maumee River, Ohio. Logan himself died a short time afterward as a result of this encounter.

There was another chief by the same name and living during the same period, who was friendly to the Americans and who, according to the *Handbook of American Indians*, interposed in their behalf in the massacre at Fort Dearborn. It is probably this Winamac of whom General Harrison said in a letter in 1810, that he traveled incessantly trying to keep the Indians quiet. This chief also reported to Harrison the transactions in a council of the Indians under The Prophet, or Tenskwatawa, on the St. Joseph River, in May 1810, in which The Prophet proposed the murder of the principal chiefs of all

the tribes who had sold land to the United States, and advocated immediate surprise of the chiefs' towns and forts in the Middle West.

The village of Winamac, in Pulaski county, Indiana, received its name from this chief. He died in 1821.

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CAPTAIN JOHN G. PARKER ON LAKE SUPERIOR,
1846 TO 1870

BY JAMES K. JAMISON
ONTONAGON

THE growth of shipping on Lake Superior is usually measured statistically. After that fashion the record begins with a few hundred tons a season and progresses in annual steps to such gigantic figures that it is easier at last to say, even though somewhat inaccurately, that tonnage passing through the Soo Canal exceeds that of Kiel, Suez and Panama canals combined.

But the statistical method of measurement lacks all color and life. The growth of shipping on Lake Superior is actually an account of human achievement in which tonnage figures are merely symbols. Behind the statistics are men with decks under their feet, venturing beyond the protection of White Fish Point upon the largest and most treacherous inland water in the world. A century ago those were very small decks, indeed.

In 1905 the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Soo Canal was celebrated. It was an important occasion. The program was opened with an invocation by an archdeacon and it was closed with a benediction by a bishop. The mayor welcomed the celebrants and the governor made a speech. A regimental band played. Addresses were delivered by the solicitor-general of Canada and by a famous United States senator. What made all this magnificent display of pride in accomplishment possible was the vast multiplication of such a laconic entry as that of Captain John G. Parker, for example, for a day in November, 1846: "We had bent a new set of sails and when off Two-Hearted River put in two reefs, blowing very hard, our boat washed off and we lost most of our deck load off Grand Marais, and wind heading us off we wore ship

and made back behind White Fish Point, three pumps agoing all the time."

* * *

Before we bring Captain John G. Parker to Lake Superior and permit him to tell his own story with as little interruption as possible, it is needful that you know briefly of his family and experiences up to that time. He was born in New Hampshire in 1821. During his early childhood, his parents lived in Portland and in Boston. Later his father moved to Lake Simcoe, in Canada, where he built a saw-mill and a dock and laid out a townsite. It appears then that he became involved in the incipient rebellion whereby it was hoped to add Canada to the United States. He fled. By the time young Parker was seventeen years old, the family was reunited in Buffalo, whence, with other relatives, they moved westward to settle a farm a few miles west of Milwaukee. Young John helped his father clear land and worked as a packer for a government surveying party. In 1843 he went with a man in a wagon from Milwaukee down into Illinois to get a load of corn. He did not return. Instead, he bought a boat, with two other young adventurers, and set out for the Mississippi. Near Keokuck, Iowa, they bought some standing oak timber. They put it in a raft buoyed by a cottonwood boom in the Des Moines River and marketed it in St. Louis. Here he separated from his companions and shipped on a steamboat plying the Missouri and Mississippi. In 1846 he was back at his father's farm near Milwaukee, and he was twenty-five years old, stood six feet, weighed one hundred and ninety pounds, and he could take care of himself.

He shall now tell his own story.

* * *

In the spring of 1846 in April I left home with Captain Calvin Ripley for Lake Superior and shipped with him on the schooner *Fur Trader*. She was hauled over the portage at the Soo on the Canadian side in the fall of 1845. She was a vessel

of 52 tons burden, built at Milwaukee, and at that time she was one of only four similar vessels on the lake.

We fitted her out and loaded with supplies for an exploring party and left the Soo in May, 1846, with 75 passengers and 150 barrels bulk and five small boats. We landed the first party at Huron River, the second party at Pigeon River on the North Shore, the third party at Island River, the fourth party at St. Louis River on Minnesota Point, and the fifth party at Montreal River. Then we went into the Ontonagon River and then back to the Soo. We made regular trips up the lake all that summer. Our next to last trip in November, Major Beadon and Reverend Pitzal and family were aboard, bound for L'Anse. We bent a new set of sails and when off Two-Hearted River put in two reefs, blowing very hard, our boat washed off and we lost most of our deck load off Grand Marais, and wind heading us off, we wore ship and made back behind White Fish Point, three pumps agoing all the time.

We had to run back to the Soo to get a boat. Started up the lake again and when above Parisien Island, I fell overboard. Capt. Ripley threw me a rope and I managed to catch it. He hauled in and I had a reef plat. I told him to throw me a board and they threw over a 1 inch board 12 feet long and 12 inches wide. I went to it and lashed myself to it with the reef plat and in about one-half hour the boat came and picked me up. It was snowing hard and difficult to see. We had a good passage after that up to L'Anse. Landed our freight and passengers and returned to the Soo and loaded for Ontonagon. Laid the Fur Trader up at the Soo on December 6, 1846.

Capt. Ripley, two other men and myself started on December 10 to walk to L'Anse. We kept to the lake shore as much as possible. Joe Pickett, our half-breed pilot, took us beyond L'Anse to the Firesteel River so we had to make back. Camped and took the trail to the Algonquin Mine where we stopped for the night. In the morning took the trail for Baraga. Traveling was very heavy, snowing all the time and we had no snowshoes, and we got out of grub. That night we came to

War Tap's camp of Indians and stayed. We stopped in L'Anse mission until New Year 1847.

I left L'Anse with the Indian mail carrier. Broke through the ice in Huron Bay and after getting out we camped near Huron River, very cold and freezing hard. I had several hundred dollars and some bills to take to Capt. Ripley's family. Took me nearly all night to dry them. We traveled on the lake shore to Carp River, then to Grand Island, and then crossed over the peninsula to Bay de Noque on snowshoes. Here we got a team that took us to Green Bay and I went on to Milwaukee. I went down to Illinois to where Capt. Ripley's family lived and gave Mrs. Ripley the money. Then I went home and hunted the rest of the winter, killed forty or fifty deer.

In April, 1847, I left home for the Soo. There I went aboard the schooner *Swallow*, Capt. Brown, to wait for Capt. Ripley to come down from Ontonagon. On the night of June 1 dreamt I saw the *Fur Trader* coming down under a heavy press of canvas, wind NW, blowing white water, and rounded to under our stern. I dreamt I saw a boat leave her, full of men. I looked again and the boat was out of sight, went down, and I woke up. On the morning of June 10 I told Capt. Brown my dream and he laughed but the dream had fixed itself on me. We sat on the deck of the *Swallow* and the wind began to blow up strong from the NW. We were sitting on the windlass and I looked up the river and saw the *Fur Trader* coming down just as I saw her in my dream. She came to anchor right under our stern at the head of the portage. Capt. Brown and I took our boat and went aboard her. But Capt. Brown went ashore and I waited for Capt. Ripley to shave and fix up and we then went ashore in the *Fur Trader* dory. We met Capt. Brown in town with a party of men. Capt. Brown said to me, "Come, I want you to go down over the rapids. We are going over to sound the channel to see if there is enough water to run the schooner *Uncle Tom* over. I want you to pull the stroke oar."

We went and in making the shoot the boat ended over and

three were drowned. Mr. Seamon was picked up from the bottom by an Indian and taken on the dock and the water rolled out of him and he came to life. I saved Capt. John Stannard after I got on the boat below the rapids. The next day the schooner Merchant left the Soo with a crew of seven and seven passengers, Capt. Brown as her master. The Merchant was never heard from—lost with all hands.

Capt. Ripley left the Soo with the Fur Trader with a cargo of merchandise for Grand Island, L'Anse, Copper Harbor, Eagle Harbor and Ontonagon. Myself as mate. I sailed with Capt. Calvin Ripley throughout the season of 1847 on the Fur Trader, making regular trips from the Soo to La Pointe, touching at Grand Island, Carp Lake, L'Anse, Copper Harbor, Eagle Harbor, Eagle River and Ontonagon. We averaged two round trips a month, and laid up at the Soo Nov. 23, 1847.

After we laid up, I shipped on the schooner Chippeway to go to Ontonagon with mining supplies. Mr. Knapp, the head of the Minnesota Mining Company, Mr. Purdy and Judge Beacon were passengers, paying \$150 for their passage each. We left the Soo Nov. 23. When we got to L'Anse, Mr. Knapp and Mr. Purdy left to go to the Minnesota Mine through the woods. Capt. Clark, owner and master of the Chippeway, got her ashore at Eagle River 6th day of December. We got the freight out and hauled the Chippeway on the beach. The insurance agents Brace and Green were there. They sold the cargo and we left on snowshoes for Milwaukee and I got to my father's home yet in December. Capt. Clark started for the Soo, got his feet froze and stayed in an Indian camp all winter.

January and February of 1848 I hunted, living with my father and mother on the farm at Brookfield. I killed some thirty deer.

In April Capt. Ripley and I left Milwaukee for the Soo and fitted out the Fur Trader in May. We landed the first freight at Marquette for the Jackson Iron Company.

The first light-house was built at White Fish Point and I hauled the stone from Tequamonaw Islands. The next light-

house was built at Manitou Island and I hauled the stone and lumber.

In the fall of 1848 I hauled lumber from La Pointe to Ontonagon for a house and got out timber that winter and built the house in the spring of 1849. The season of 1849 I sailed with Capt. Ripley and that fall Martin Beaser and myself bought the Fur Trader, laying her up in Ontonagon. In January 1850 I walked from Ontonagon to Neenah, Wisconsin, and back in the spring. I sailed the Fur Trader that season, laid her up in Ontonagon and commenced to build a sawmill. We got out logs that winter and started the mill in the spring and we cut lumber that summer and built up Ontonagon. Mine was the only frame house in town until I sawed this lumber. April, 1850, I voted at the first town meeting.

In 1852 I took a load of lumber from my mill to Eagle Harbor and left the Fur Trader with James Alexander to go back to Ontonagon for I was leaving to go down to the Soo on a steamboat. He went out several miles and run back in a southwester and got the vessel ashore near Eagle Harbor and I lost her. I saved her running gear and sails.

(Seven years appears to have been the life of the Fur Trader on Lake Superior)

* * *

I left Ontonagon in the winter of 1853 with James Burtenshaw, a merchant, to go below and buy a vessel. We went to L'Anse and joined company with Father Baraga, C. C. Douglas and Simon Mendelbaum, with three dog trains. Father Baraga was going to Cincinnatti [sic] to be consecrated as the first bishop of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette but he did not know he had been made Bishop until he got to Cincinnatti [sic]. After six days we got to the mouth of the Menominee River and sent the men and dogs back. Going across Green Bay with a team and sleigh the whole outfit broke through the ice but we saved everything. Father Baraga had in his baggage all the sheets of writing for a book of the Chippeway language and he had to spend a day drying them out.

At the mouth of the Menominee River a vessel, the George W. Ford, was laid up. She was about the size vessel we wanted and when we arrived at Milwaukee we went to the owner and bought her for \$5,000.

I took the vessel in the spring and bent her sails and run her to Milwaukee and loaded her with supplies. I arrived at the Soo in May. I hauled her across the portage which cost \$1,000 more and we arrived at Ontonagon in June. The deal for the vessel was the Minnesota Mining Company one-half, Mr. Burtenshaw one-fourth and myself one-fourth, and master. I run her until the canal was finished in 1855, carrying copper from Ontonagon to the Soo and mining supplies up. She cleared for her owners \$15,000 in three years.

I took the first load of copper on any vessel through the Soo Canal. We made regular trips from Ontonagon to Detroit, copper down and supplies back. The round trip averaged a month. I sailed the Ford from 1853 to 1870. That year Harry Winter got her on the reef off Eagle Harbor and I lost her. During part of the time I owned the Ford, I was master of the Mineral Rock, propeller General Taylor and propeller Burlington. After I lost the Ford, I went down to Detroit and went as mate and pilot on the propeller City of Detroit. In the fall of 1870 I bought a stock of goods and opened a store in Ontonagon.

(Capt. Parker had thus sailed Lake Superior in sail and steam for a quarter century. He ran his store for another quarter century when the entire town of Ontonagon was destroyed by fire. He lost all he possessed, without insurance, and he died a year or two after the disaster, quite penniless. His diary relates that he saved the lives of seven men during his sailing days.)

* * *

The reader will understand that only parts of Capt. Parker's own account of his activities have been used. Let us end with his account of one episode that is typical of many in his journal. He relates:

"We left the Soo late in the afternoon of November 20, 1859. I was piloting the Burlington. I did not like the looks of the weather so we ran into Taquamenow Bay. Before sundown the steamers Planet and Cleveland came along and passed outside. They were both bound for Marquette. The clerk persuaded Capt. Fish to get under way and follow which he did against my protests. About midnight it began to snow with the wind blowing a gale NW. Capt. Fish sent for me saying the wheelsman was sick and I went to the pilot house and altered her course. The next morning we passed through bales of hay, dry goods boxes and most anything that would float. The Planet got into Marquette with her smoke stack gone and she was otherwise badly crippled. The Cleveland got into Grand Island little better.

"The wind and storm continued unabated all that day and about midnight I brought the Burlington to anchor off Bete Gris under Keweenaw Peninsula. We had a cargo of packet freight and several head of cattle. During the storm a yoke of oxen were thrown about so that they had their legs broke and these were killed and dressed while we waited. We finally decided to get under way and arrived at Copper Harbor, still blowing and snowing. Mr. Northrup who had charge of the warehouse at that place offered me \$100 if I would leave the Burlington at that port. I told him the Burlington would lay up in Ontonagon that winter for the inhabitants badly needed the supplies she had aboard.

"The storm lulled a little but when we left it was still blowing and snowing NW. It was some time in the night when we arrived off Ontonagon but I had to keep the vessel headed up the lake, expecting to run back in the morning. When daylight came the storm was raging harder than ever and we had to continue on to Bayfield.

While we were at the dock in Bayfield, Capt. Fish came to me and said we would lay the vessel up there for the winter. He stated that the crew refused to stay on and that they were all going below overland. I suggested that we go over to La

Pointe and take on some fuel wood and then come back to Bayfield, in order to get the deck hands to go with us. This was done, about 30 cords being taken on. In the night the wind shifted and I backed out of the wood dock but instead of going to Bayfield, I headed her for Ontonagon. We arrived shortly after daylight on December 11 and were given a rousing reception as it had been reported that the Burlington was lost."

* * *

That was the mettle of the men who made the growth of shipping on Lake Superior possible. Among them Captain John G. Parker has his secure place.

A BRIDGE OF PEACE

BY MARY CATHERINE BRENNAN

MARYGROVE COLLEGE, DETROIT

ANOTHER bridge has been erected. A bridge of peace whose firm foundations are sunk far below the surface of a fort once the symbol of war. For at Port Huron, on the site of the Blue Water Bridge, once stood Fort Gratiot built to keep the British out of our territory. The new construction is a symbol to all the world that where once bayonets and barriers threatened British kinsmen, today an international bridge swings majestically across Huron's blue waters, to extend to the people of both countries a reciprocal welcome. In this bridge we see the progress of a hundred years or more of successful international relationships, as well as of industry. The site of this bridge is the scene of years of struggling, first, among the French and British for the fur trade, later as Fort Gratiot, a border fortification of the United States.

It is possible to trace the history of fortifications on this site as far back as 1634. In that year Jean Nicolet was sent by Champlain to explore the Great Lakes region. The report of Champlain to the French government shows that Nicolet designated a point at the outlet of what he called "Merceaux Hurons" as the site for a military post. There is no record, however, to show that this recommendation was acted upon immediately. In 1686 M. DuLhut received orders from Denonville to erect a military post on the Straits of Detroit, then designated as extending from Lake Huron to Lake Erie. DuLhut built his stockade, as documents show, at the mouth of Lake Huron on the western side of the river, the exact location of Fort Gratiot. This place, therefore, had an almost two-century tradition of fighting and forts behind it when in 1814 a new fort was erected by Captain Charles Gratiot, an engineer, under the orders of General Harrison. This step came as a consequence of the war not yet over with Great

Britain. The spot chosen for a fort of defense was near the entrance of the St. Clair River and approximately the same spot as that selected by the French years before for the erection of Fort St. Joseph. The British at one time captured this fort, so the American Flag was the third and last to fly over this spot. Though the fort was eventually destroyed so that no actual part of it stands today, its name has been perpetuated by a highway of Michigan and a monument erected on the site telling the historic story.

Nor is this fort the only one found in the historic annals of the Great Lakes region whose erection stood for war and enmity between Britain and the United States, and where today stands an emblem of peace and good-will. If we but follow down along the St. Clair River some seventy miles we arrive at the Ambassador Bridge where many years ago walls of such forts as Pontchartrain and Shelby were raised, a few miles further down Fort Wayne of our day. On the Canadian side Fort Malden near Amherstburg, dating back to 1812, still stands in partial ruin. Back in the days of the American Revolution, Detroit figured far more importantly than most of us realize. To the British in 1775 the territory around the Great Lakes was of great importance for it was the gateway to the West. Availing herself of the help of the Indians, Britain tried her utmost to retain her western possessions. The treaty closing the war, and signed by England and the United States provided that the disputed territory of the Great Lakes region should become part of the United States. Thus Detroit, with other lake ports, was given up by the British. Trouble and distrust were still in evidence when Ephraim Douglass arrived in Detroit, sent by the United States Government to negotiate with the Indians of this Territory. For the British, holding the Indians as allies during the war, had filled them with distrust and hatred of the Americans. Consequently the United States kept many forts in the area as a defense against the Indians.

Again in 1812 hostilities between the British and the United

States once more created ill-feelings around the region of the Great Lakes. From the forts at Amherstburg and Detroit and on Lake Erie, shots were fired and men were killed in order to settle disputes between two nations who had so many similar laws and traditions. It is more than a coincidence, I believe, that in an area once surrounded by forts, the Ambassador Bridge now stands. It was the first bridge erected over waters of the upper Great Lakes between Canada and the United States. Its significance and that of the Blue Water Bridge is the same; both are symbols of Peace and Good Will—mighty hand-shakes of steel between British and Americans—an assurance that the hostility of old has been lost in the stream of time.

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REUBEN ATWATER *large*

BY THE LATE WILLIAM L. JENKS

PORT HURON

R EUBEN ATWATER, the second Secretary of the Territory, was born in Wallingford, Conn., May 11, 1768. His sister Merab married Stephen R. Bradley, who went from Wallingford to Vermont in 1779, and became prominent and influential as a lawyer and politician and was elected one of the first senators of the new state, and was President pro tem of the Senate in 1807-8, at the time his brother-in-law was appointed to his office in Michigan.

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The first Secretary, Stanley Griswold, appointed in 1805, soon became involved in differences with Governor Hull, and it was decided at Washington that the minor officer should be replaced; when his term expired the President sent to the Senate on February 19, 1808, the name of Reuben Atwater of Vermont as Secretary of the Territory of Michigan, and Collector of Customs, and he was duly confirmed March 18.

Apparently Atwater had gone from Wallingford to New York and had read law there, as he was admitted to the bar in Windham County, Vt., at the June term of Court in 1789, giving his residence then as New York. He established his practice in Westminster, where his brother-in-law lived, and was in practice there at the time of his appointment.

On the day he was confirmed by the Senate the President issued his commission to the new Secretary, who left his business affairs with his nephew, William C. Bradley, then a young lawyer, who later became prominent as lawyer and statesman, and soon left for Michigan where he arrived in May, 1808, and was sworn in on the 27th of that month. As Secretary he received a salary of \$1,000 per annum, and as Collector he received \$250 yearly, and also a commission of 3% upon his official disbursements.

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The author, W. L. Jenks, was one of the original members of the Michigan Historical Commission. He died in 1936.

In August, 1808, Atwater returned to Albany to meet his family and bring them to Detroit, where he arrived in the Fall. From February 27 to June 7, 1809, Governor Hull was absent from the Territory and during that period the Secretary became Acting Governor. In the Fall of 1811 Governor Hull again left the Territory, not to return until he came at the head of his army in July, 1812, and Atwater officiated as Governor during that absence.

On December 30, 1811, President Madison reappointed him as Secretary for four years from March 1, 1812, and he was promptly confirmed.

Upon the surrender of Detroit in 1812 Atwater returned East, first to Westminster, and then went to live with a brother who had moved to St. Lawrence County, New York, and established the Village of Russell. He continued to draw his salaries as Secretary and Collector until the appointment of his successor.

When Detroit came again into the possession of the Americans in 1813 he took no steps toward a return to the place of his duties. In September, 1814, he was in Washington, probably in connection with his salaries, and hearing that the President intended to supersede him, asked the reason, and was told he had not attended to his duties and ought to have gone to Detroit as soon as it was reoccupied by the Americans; shortly after, on September 30, the President sent to the Senate the name of William Woodbridge as Secretary of the Territory, who later became the second governor of the State of Michigan.

As Secretary of the Territory, Atwater was ex officio one of the members of the Land Board provided to adjust the titles of the occupants who had possessory title only, and performed some service in this capacity for which he received no compensation, as the statute under which the Board acted provided that the Secretary should receive \$500 for such service and the preceding Secretary, Stanley Griswold, drew the entire amount, but later Atwater received some compensation.

In his administration as Secretary and Acting Governor he seems to have created the impression of moderate ability, and little tact. His life after 1814 was passed in obscurity, probably in the State of New York where he had relations of standing and he died in February, 1831.

Atwater was twice married, the first time to Eliza Willard, the second time to Sarah, a daughter of General John Lamb of New York City, a well known soldier of the Revolution, who was appointed by Washington the first Customs Collector of the port of New York.

STORY OF THE CONSULAR CORPS OF DETROIT

BY LOUIS JAMES ROSENBERG

DETROIT

BEFORE giving the story of the local Consular Corps, it may not be amiss to state briefly what a Consul is, finding as I often do considerable confusion even among fairly well educated persons, as to what really are the functions of a Consul.

A Consul is an officer appointed by a Government to look after various interests of the Government appointing him, but principally the commercial interests of his Government and its nationals.

For our purpose here, Consuls may be divided into professional officers or Consuls de *carriere* and honorary Consuls or those that are non de *carriere*. A *carriere* Consul is an officer sent by his Government to reside in a foreign country, is paid a salary and his office expenses by the Government sending him. He must also be a citizen of the Government appointing him. He is not allowed to engage in any private business or profession. An honorary or non de *carriere* Consul is selected from the local residents where the Consul is to conduct his Consular office, receives no salary nor office expense but only a certain amount of the Consular fees collected. The office of a non de *carriere* Consul is, therefore, in most instances merely an appendage to his usual occupation or supplemental to it. Under Treaties, Consuls de *carriere* as a rule enjoy privileges and prerogatives not granted to honorary Consuls.

This story covers a period of a little over fifty years. The first foreign Consul in Detroit was Pierré DeCoster. He was appointed Consul for Belgium in 1875. Mr. DeCoster was suc-

Louis James Rosenberg, Detroit attorney, was American Consul at Seville, Spain, 1906-09; Consul at Pernambuco, Brazil, 1909-10; now honorary Consul for Panama at Detroit; at various times official delegate to international conferences; Counsel in Michigan for several diplomatic and consular officers; author of published writings on historical and philosophical subjects and on foreign affairs; corresponding member of numerous American and foreign professional and social societies.

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ceeded in office by Mr. Theophile François in 1884. Following Mr. François' appointment Mr. Peter Sorenson was appointed Consul for Denmark.

Thus we find fifty years ago Detroit having only two foreign Consuls. We naturally cannot speak of a Corps at the time when there were only two Consular officers, although three countries were represented, because Mr. François also acted at Consular Agent for France until a few years later his friend Joseph Belanger was appointed to that office.

Mr. François was the first important figure in the Consular Corps of Detroit. He served in this city as Consul for Belgium for the period of thirty-five years. He was a scholar and a gentleman of the old school. Born in Brussels in 1835, he came to this country when eighteen years old. He served through the Civil War, remained in the army until 1882 and saw Indian fighting in the west from 1870 to 1877. He was honorary President of the Alliance Française and Commander of the Detroit Post No. 384, G. A. R. For services rendered to Belgium, he was made Chevalier of the Order of Leopold and in the later years of his life he was frequently referred to as Chevalier François. He died in 1918 at the age of eighty-four.

I was with him on an important occasion shortly before he died. It was on Sunday, July 14, 1918, and citizens of Detroit together with representatives of a number of foreign nations celebrated Bastille Day. There was a parade and later a celebration in the Michigan State Armory. When Chevalier Theophile François, Consul of Belgium, appeared on the platform of the Armory, the applause was tremendous. He died a very short time after that event.

Detroit and the State of Michigan was growing not only numerically but was developing commercially and industrially so that in 1898 (that is 40 years ago) we find ten foreign nations represented in this State, eight of them maintaining Consular offices in Detroit, one nation, Italy, having its Consul stationed at Calumet, and the Netherlands represented by Mr. Jacob Stekettee at Grand Rapids.

Something in the nature of a Corps was then formed and naturally Mr. François, as the oldest Consul here became the Dean. The other Consuls making up the Corps at that time were as follows: Mr. Peter Sorenson representing *Denmark*, Joseph Belanger as Consular Agent for *France*, Gen. Arthur L. Bresler representing *Hawaii*, Joseph M. Bresler (Republica Major de Central America), Carl T. Pelgelson representing *Sweden* and *Norway*, and Charles Bresler representing *Venezuela*.

The Consul of the Netherlands was stationed at Grand Rapids because of the large Dutch population there. Mr. Jacquimo R. Lessa, who was Consular Agent for Italy, was stationed at Calumet because of the large number of Italian laborers living there.

Among the most prominent members of the Corps at that time were the Breslers. They figured a great deal in the commercial, financial and social life of Detroit.

In 1900 Gen. Arthur L. Bresler became Consul-General of Nicaragua in Detroit. General Bresler was a brother of Eugene and Victor. He was born in Detroit in 1861. After graduating from the University of Michigan he traveled abroad, entered the American army, then went to Germany and studied military tactics there for several years. Upon his return to this country he became interested in enterprises in Central and Southern America, especially timber lands in Nicaragua. In 1905 he moved to New York where he died in 1908.

The Breslers owned very valuable property on Lafayette Avenue and there was considerable litigation over the Estate of Joseph M. Bresler which received much press comment.

At the beginning of the year 1918, we find twelve foreign countries represented in Michigan—all of them having their Consular offices in Detroit, except the Netherlands, that country still maintaining its Consulate in Grand Rapids. We find in that year a number of changes in the personnel of the Corps and a new Dean: Mr. William C. Griffiths, Mr. François having died.

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Mr. Griffiths was for many years called the grand old man of the Corps. He remained active in the work of the Corps until a few months before his death in 1930 at the age of eighty-three, which closed a Consular and diplomatic career of thirty-seven years.

Mr. Griffiths was born in Gibraltar on December 5, 1848, the son of a British Consul who was stationed at Cadiz, Spain. After having studied in various schools in Spain and England, he was engaged as Washington correspondent of the *New York Tribune*.

Shortly after his arrival in this country he became acquainted with Thomas W. Palmer of Detroit who was then U. S. Senator from Michigan. Mr. Griffiths accompanied Senator Palmer to Spain upon the latter's appointment as American Minister in 1889, as the Senator's private secretary. He remained Senator Palmer's Secretary when the Senator was recalled as Minister to take care of the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. Mr. Griffiths returned with Senator Palmer to Detroit, remaining there until his death. During his residence there he acted as Vice-Consul for Spain, then Consul for Colombia and later Consul for Honduras. He was a gracious and kindly gentleman with clear blue eyes and a flowing white beard. He had much charm and was beloved by all who knew him.

In the same year, that is in 1918, there was also for the first time one Consular officer de carrière in Detroit: Mr. Howard G. Meredith, Vice-Consul of Great Britain. Mr. Meredith married in Detroit and settled there. He resigned from the service in 1923 and died in Detroit a few years ago.

Mr. Meredith was succeeded in office by Mr. John A. Cameron with the full title of Consul—and Consular jurisdiction over the States of Michigan and Ohio.

With the appearance of Mr. Cameron there opens a new and important period in the history of the Consular Corps in Detroit.

The countries represented have now reached the number of

fifteen and three of them professional Consuls or Consuls de carriere: Mr. Cameron as representing Great Britain, General Alfredo Serratos, Mexico, and Sylvester Gruszka the Republic of Poland.

The largest and most important Consulate at that time was that of Poland, occupying a two-story building and employing a large staff.

Mr. Gruszka was succeeded by Dr. Wladislov Kozlovsky under whose regime the Polish Consulate was enlarged to a staff of sixteen persons (besides himself and his Vice-Consul).

I regret to state that at present there is no Polish Consulate in Detroit. The reason for this situation is not that the relations of Michigan with that country have weakened or that the Polish population there has been reduced—the Polish element is still the largest foreign element in Detroit. The change is due wholly to the policy of the Polish foreign office. Poland maintains in this country only three Consular offices, all presided over by Consul-Generals. They are stationed in New York, Chicago and Pittsburgh. Michigan is now under the jurisdiction of the Consul-General of Pittsburgh.

The year 1924 marks a memorable year in the history of the Corps. The Detroit Consular Corps was reorganized in that year and for the first time adopted a Constitution and By-Laws. Mr. Cameron became the Dean; Mr. Griffiths having been made honorary Dean. According to this Constitution it was established that the Dean of the Corps should always be the professional Consul longest stationed there and the Vice Dean must be an honorary Consul elected by the members of the Corps.

In 1925 there were eighteen members of the Detroit Consular Corps, (not counting, of course, Mr. Stekettee, who remained at Grand Rapids) and seventeen nations represented in Detroit.

In 1926 Fritz Hailer who was legal adviser for the German Consul at Cleveland, and Willam G. Bryant, trade adviser of the Netherlands in Detroit, were upon the suggestion of the

Dean made members of the Corps. Five years ago Mr. Bryant became Consul of the Netherlands for the Counties of Macomb, Oakland and Wayne and in 1935 Mr. Hailer became Consul of Germany for Wayne County.

The years 1925-1930 mark the most active period, so far, in the history of the Detroit Consular Corps. During those years, under the inspiration and leadership of Mr. Cameron there were several articles published in the local press relative to the personnel and work of the foreign Consuls stationed in Detroit. Notable among these articles was one published by the *Michigan Manufacturer and Financial Record* in its issue of May, 1927. In that year, that is in 1927, the Corps inaugurated the policy of giving a dinner to the Governor at an early period following his inauguration. The first Governor so honored was Governor Green.

A notable event that took place in December of that year was the dinner given in honor of Mr. Joseph T. Belanger, when for services rendered he was decorated by the French Government with the decoration of the Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, after having served as Consular Agent of France at Detroit for forty-eight years. Mr. Belanger gave the impression that his life and his conduct were in accordance with the highest and best traditions of a French gentleman. His appearance at Consular and other public functions always added interest and color, especially at Consular functions where he almost invariably appeared in the Consular uniform of the country he represented. He was often chided, however, as not being the Consular agent of France but in reality Emperor Franz Josef of Austria on a vacation in Detroit. This was due to the side whiskers that he wore which gave him a striking resemblance to the Austrian Emperor.

During Mr. Cameron's regime two of the British Ambassadors came to Detroit. Sir Ronald Lindsay, the present Ambassador to the U. S. A. and his predecessor, Sir Esme Howard. Mr. Cameron gave a large dinner in honor of Sir Esme

Howard, a more intimate dinner followed by a large reception to Sir Ronald Lindsay.

A very colorful figure of that period was Pietro Cordiello, for many years Consular agent of Italy at Detroit. He and his wife entertained lavishly and were excellent hosts. He was a man of very striking appearance, heavily built and had a big moustache. He lived in a large home on East Grand Boulevard and entertained Ambassadors, members of the Italian nobility and other distinguished personages. Aside from his Consular duties Mr. Cordiello was active in many business and civic enterprises. For his services as Consular officer he received several decorations from the Italian government.

The Italian Consular representatives following Cardello, Count Berni Cannani, Ungarelli and Belcredi, now Secretary of the Italian Embassy in Moscow, were all interesting men and all *de carriere* men, this post now being a *de carriere* post for Italy.

In the latter part of 1930 Mr. Cameron was transferred to another post and a farewell dinner was given to him by the Consular Corps in the early part of October, at which Maynard D. Follin, Consul of Guatemala, was toastmaster. Mr. Follin was another interesting character of the Corps at that period. He always attracted attention wherever he appeared because of his ever-present white carnation, and on evening gala occasions, his opera cape.

Mr. Cameron's devotion to the Consular Corps was outstanding and his services as Dean to the Corps extremely valuable. His departure from Detroit was deeply regretted by all of the members.

Mr. Cameron was a man of fine intellect and had an impressive personality. He was a large man, stately and dignified though not without a sense of humor. Mr. Cameron was born in Australia. He crossed the interior of that continent on a driving expedition at the age of seventeen. He became a newspaper man, went to Africa with the Australian forces

during the Boer War and then became war correspondent. At the outbreak of the World War he was appointed British Vice-Consul at Schaffshausen, Switzerland and later at Basel. In 1920 he was advanced to the rank of Consul at Czernowicz, Roumania and in April, 1924 came as British Consul to Detroit serving in that capacity there to the end of 1930. From Detroit he went to Danzig, at that time the Free City of Danzig, where he served for several years until his retiring period at the age of 60. Upon his retirement he was given by his Government the decoration of officer of the Order of The British Empire and is now living in London as a journalist.

Mr. Cameron was succeeded as Dean by Dr. W. Kozlovsky, Consul of Poland. Dr. Kozlovsky, however, served as Dean only a few months when he was transferred to the foreign office at Warsaw. Shortly thereafter he retired from the service. He was a very efficient Consul, a thinker and a scholar. He showed great devotion to the interest of the Corps, but owing to the brief period of his Deanship he was, of course, unable to accomplish very much.

Upon the return of Dr. Kozlovsky to Poland Mr. Ignacio L. Batisa, Consul of Mexico, became the Dean. This was in March 1931.

Mr. Batisa came to Detroit after having served as Consul at several other posts. He was an experienced Consular officer of a scholarly nature, with a philosophic bent of mind. He served as Dean until February, 1935, at which time he was transferred to another post. He, too, was earnest in advancing the general interest of the Corps and in the summer of 1934 appointed a committee composed of himself, the then French Consul, Leon Moran, and Louis James Rosenberg to take up with the proper authorities the matter of the relationship of foreign Consuls to our Probate Courts. This committee presented its problems at a meeting of the Association of the Probate Judges of Michigan, held at Newberry in August, 1934.

Prominent among the Consular officers during the period immediately preceding the reorganization of the Corps under Mr. Cameron, were Captain Fred C. Collin, Consul of Greece and for a short period Secretary of the Corps; General C. W. Harrah, for a number of years honorary Consul of Cuba; and Dr. Olsen, for some years Consul for Denmark.

Mention must also be made of M. Peter Boeye who has been Consul of Belgium in Detroit since 1919, and Mr. Bartenen, Consul of Finland, and his successor Mr. Heideman, who acted as Secretary of the Consular Corps a few years ago.

One of the very active members of the Corps in recent years has been Mr. Carl Berglund, Vice-Consul of Sweden since 1924. He served for several years as Vice Dean of the organization and for services rendered was decorated by the Government of Sweden. He is an earnest, able man and is recognized as a leader among the Scandinavian peoples of this community.

Upon the departure of Mr. Batisa in the early part of 1934, Mr. Ceasar Barranco, Consul of Cuba, became the Dean of the Corps. Under his Deanship a Foreign Trade Day was celebrated for the first time in Detroit. This took place on March 12, 1935, concluding with a banquet in the evening at the Hotel Statler at which were present several diplomatic representatives that came from Washington specifically to attend this function.

In September, 1935, Mr. Barranco was transferred to another post and he was succeeded by Mr. L. C. Hughes-Hallett, British Consul who is now the Dean of the Corps. This brings the Story of the Corps up to the present.

At present there are *seven* Consular officers *de carriere* of a total personnel of twenty-three officers representing nations, as follows: Argentina, Belgium, Cuba, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Honduras, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Spain and Sweden.

The Consular Corps has come to play a very important part in the life of Detroit, largely, I believe, because Detroit has reached a high place as one of the important trade centers of the world.

LOCATING THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

BY WILLIAM W. UPTON

Member of the Michigan legislature from Clinton County, 1847; chief justice of Oregon, 1872 to '74. (From the original manuscript, owned by Mr. Ralph Upton, Seattle, Washington.)

I WAS a member of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan that convened, if I recall the date, on the first Monday of January, 1845 [1847].

I had then lived at the village of DeWitt, then the County Seat of Clinton County, two years, and I represented that county. I had been admitted to the bar and had occasionally tried cases more by way of amusement than as a matter of business, for up to that time and for a year afterward I had never supposed I should make the practice of law my business. But being a member of the bar and there not being a very large number of the members of the House who were lawyers and also because I had supported Mr. George W. Peck, who became speaker, I was a member of the judiciary committee of the House, notwithstanding my youth and my want of experience as a lawyer.

This gave me as much prominence as a member, as so young and inexperienced a man was entitled to and I have no doubt a good deal more.

I was greatly aided in avoiding the awkward effects of such inexperience by becoming the roommate and companion of Mr. Charles P. Bush, a man of about forty-five years who was president pro tem of the state senate. He had in his boyhood been a neighbor and friend of my father-in-law, Mr. Joseph Hollister, and although he never saw me until on my way to Detroit to attend the session of the legislature he greeted me cordially because of the acquaintance with my father-in-law and proposed that we should room together during the session. I was wise enough to surmise that his willingness to do me so great a kindness grew out of a design and hope that he would be able to influence my vote on diverse questions

Paraphrasing and minor changes made by the Editor.

and most especially in the election of a United States senator. But as it seemed to me to be and really was an object to so young and verdant a politician to be on such easy and intimate terms with such a shrewd experienced and influential man I accepted with pleasure. This arrangement enabled me to have an inside view of nearly all that was being done. The business of this first session of the legislature was especially important because in addition to being the session at which a United States Senator was to be elected, it had been provided at the time of adopting the state constitution, that the capital of the state should remain in Detroit until 1845 [1847] and that it should then be permanently located at such place as the legislature should designate. It had been a topic for several years and as the time approached every town and village in the state became convinced that it was par excellence the place for the capital. It is almost incredible but there was no exception, the people of each embryo city could see abundant reasons why that city ought to be, and for hoping it would be, selected as the capital of the state; some because they were central (and it was wonderful how many were in the center of population, or of territory or of business, either present or prospective); others because of water power or steam boat or prospective railroad conveniences, or because they were lovely rural situations remote from the disturbing and corrupting influences of commerce and trade; others for sanitary reasons, and still others because they were beautifully situated on one of the three Great Lakes.

Detroit was then by far the largest town in the state, yet its adult population was fairly doubled in numbers by the lobbyists who assembled to aid in locating the capital in the respective cities intent on securing its location for themselves. With the great mass of the people of the state the location of the capital was the all absorbing topic. But there were a few individuals who were still more interested in the selection of a United States Senator. The legislature was overwhelmingly Democratic and there were three Democratic aspirants for the

position of United States Senator. They were: Felch, who was then governor living in the eastern part of the state; Ransom, a supreme and ex-officio circuit judge living in the west; and Richardson of Pontiac, in what was then called the northern part of the state,—or at least, he had the support of the north, Shiawassee, Clinton, Ionia, then being in the most northern tier of settled or partially settled counties. Ransom had as adherents 28 western members; Richardson, who lived in the north, had 22; and Felch, 22, living in the east. To all appearances the preferences of the members were based entirely on geographical reasons.

A day was appointed for a general Democratic caucus to nominate the senator, and for several preceding evenings the friends of each candidate met in separate rooms in caucus to strengthen each other's ardor, and to devise ways and means of advancing the interests of their respective candidates. From my location in the north and so far as I know for no other reason I was with the supporters of Richardson. President Bush was also with them. Our numbers were equal to the number of Governor Felch's adherents and within six of the supporters of Judge Richardson. Why should we not succeed? I remember we said this to each other when assembled in our sectional caucus, a great many times and in many different forms of expression, and I don't remember that there was much else that we said or did when we so assembled. While we were repeating these brilliant ideas in various forms I could plainly see that Bush and others of our number were really intending in the end to elect Felch, and that State Senator Eldridge and another of our number were equally anxious to elect Ransom. It was evident to me that poor Richardson had but 18 bona fide supporters if I counted myself in, and I could hardly be so counted for I had become satisfied that he could not be elected. When we finally assembled as a caucus composed of the Democratic members of the two houses we took a great number of ballots, 44, I think, prior to any adjournment, each with the same results, namely, Ransom

28, Felch 22, and Richardson 22, and then it was resolved to take a recess for half an hour. Thereupon each of the three factions repaired to separate rooms for deliberation.

When our set of 22 was so assembled it was but a few minutes before Senator Eldridge took the floor and plausibly endeavored to show that it would be better to abandon all hope of electing the man of our choice and to support Judge Ransom who, he claimed, had sufficiently proved himself the choice of the party. Mr. Bush followed with a speech in favor of electing Felch, then Governor of the State. I followed Mr. Bush and endeavored to show that in as much as we had the same numerical strength with which we entered the contest, and there seemed no probability of coalition between the friends of Ransom and those of Felch, there was now the same reason for adhering to our man that we had at the beginning, and all that was necessary to probable success was persistence and endurance. Of course, the speeches of Bush and Eldridge were as unpleasant and uninspiring to the ten or fifteen earnest and anxious friends who in good faith were supporting Mr. Richardson as could well be imagined, and, of course, those speeches produced an effect too much like the application of a wet blanket to be effective on them. Not one of Richardson's real friends was in the least tempted to follow the lead of Eldridge and Bush. By the time I had ended my remarks it was time to repair to the general caucus and as Bush and Eldridge each hoped to draw with him a majority of our set, and neither saw how he was able then to do it, we all again repaired in a body to the general caucus. There a number of additional ballots was taken, each with the same result as before. This continued for an hour or two when at about 2 o'clock another motion for a recess prevailed and each faction again repaired to its special room for further consultation.

Our 22 were no more than fairly seated before Bush and Eldridge renewed their respective propositions. I took a part in this discussion as often as I could obtain the floor with due observance of the modesty that should characterize so young

a member of the caucus. No others took a part in the debate. The discussion between Bush and Eldridge soon became heated and acrimonious. The burden of my argument was the importance of cooperation and endurance. I counseled conciliation and harmony and repeated my former assurances based on the truths that we had the same number of voters now as at the outset and that we had as much reason to expect one of the other factions to break from their candidate and disband as they had to hope such a thing would happen to us. As the discussion proceeded I felt convinced by the looks of those who had taken no part in the discussion that I was making the point I was striving for and that neither Bush nor Eldridge was producing the effect each had contemplated. A majority of our set was not only with me in their desire to stand by Richardson but they were becoming doggedly determined not to be led away by Bush or Eldridge whom they were beginning to look upon as ingrates and traitors to their set. The most of the silent men were farmers, pioneers, who, though uneducated, had been accustomed to thinking and judging for themselves, men accustomed to have at least an equal voice, if not a controlling influence, in their respective neighborhoods and who would scorn to abandon their colleague in a contest.

As the discussion became more and more acrimonious Eldridge with a flourish, picked up his hat and asking all his friends to go with him to Ransom, left the room followed by only two adherents. Bush declaring this was an unjustifiable act on the part of Eldridge, appealed to all fair minded men to resent it and to go with him and place the matter in its true light by electing our worthy governor, Alpheus Felch, and he left the room also. He left with only three followers. During the excitement of their departure I was earnestly urging them not to be so inconsiderate, begging them not to forsake their friends, and when the last of them disappeared from the door I was conducting my appeal to them and to my remaining fellow members in the interests of harmony

and good faith to each other and begging them to remain. The result was that fifteen of us were left in our room and it was evident that if we continued to vote together the next ballot would stand: Ransom 31, Felch 26, and Richardson 15. At first the talk among the fifteen who remained, favored going into the general caucus and continuing to fight for Richardson regardless of the consequences, and I had no doubt I could have so fostered that sentiment as to have held the fifteen together to the end of the session or until Ransom or Felch had succeeded by depleting the forces of his opponent. But on this point I waited for older men to express their views. There was a good deal of quiet although excited talk and after a time some older members made some observations on the evidence this imbroglio would probably have on the selection of the place for the state capitol. This led to a consideration of the question whether the election of Ransom or of Felch would be conducive to the location of the capitol where we desired it to be; that is, in what was then considered the northern part of the state; in other words, at Lansing or that vicinity. The matter of electing Richardson began to be spoken of as almost hopeless, and it began to be queried whether one faction or the other would not consent to locate the capitol in our midst if we should enable them to have their choice for senator. A proposition was made which was agreed to by my fourteen colleagues that before we again entered the general caucus I should go into one or both the other separate caucuses and by sounding the leaders ascertain whether the members of one faction or the other would pledge themselves that we should have the capitol on those conditions. Although a very young man, I was old enough to know that promises made under such circumstances are not very likely to be kept, but I did not deem it necessary to mention that point in the hurry of that evening. I felt very great confidence that either faction would make the promise as soon as it was proposed, and with as decent haste as was consistent

with modesty I accepted their commission and repaired to the room of the Felch men.

I informed the door keeper that I desired to see President Bush. It is to be presumed that the message was as welcome to him as any he ever received. He appeared instantly and I communicated my proposition. I told him that if I was called in and given a unanimous promise of the entire twenty-six Felch men that they would aid in locating the capitol at Lansing the fifteen votes would be cast for Felch, and he left me for the purpose of presenting the proposition.

It may be thought strange that so many men whose constituents had been and still were so anxious and so hopeful of obtaining the capitol, should be willing to abandon the effort to secure the senator of their choice. But by this time the subject of locating the capitol had been very much canvassed and although the constituents still remained hopeful, most of these twenty-six legislators had become thoroughly convinced that their respective towns had no prospect of being selected as the future capitol of the state.

Bush soon returned, told me my proposition was accepted and invited me into the room to be assured of the pledge of every member. On entering I found State Senator Jefferson Thurber to be chairman of the local caucus. He welcomed me and asked me if I would be kind enough to state the proposition that had been brought by President Bush, and to state what reason they would have to be assured that the other Richardson men were willing to support Governor Felch. I said, "There are fourteen of those members now in the library awaiting my return who have authorized me to make the proposition brought you by the President of the Senate, and if I receive the assurances I have asked for, they will vote for Governor Felch on the next ballot and until he is nominated. What they expect is the aid of every member present in good faith in locating the capitol at Lansing until it is so located."

Senator Thurber said, "Gentlemen you that join in this pledge will arise." Every man arose and I said, "Governor

Felch is elected." I returned to the library room and explained the result to the fourteen. In less than five minutes the roll was being called in the general caucus and at the end of the roll call it was announced, "whole number of votes 72; necessary to choice 37, of which Judge Ransom has received 31 and Governor Alpheus Felch 41. Governor Alpheus Felch having received a majority of all the votes cast is declared the nominee of the convention for the office of United States Senator."

How many of these men lived up to the pledge it would be difficult to tell, for independently of any question of that kind the passage of the bill locating the capitol at Lansing resulted in the main from other causes. At this late date without the aid of records of the legislature's proceedings I am unable to recall the exact period in the history of that bill that the senatorial election occurred. The subject had been pretty thoroughly canvassed among the senators at least before any bill was introduced. I think the senate was composed of twenty-two members, and one seat was vacant, so that eleven members constituted a majority, and long before the bill reached the senate and before the senatorial election took place nine senators had secretly pledged each other to use their utmost endeavors to locate the capitol at Lansing.

James Seymour, a cousin, and I think a former partner of Governor Seymour of New York, then resided at Flint, Michigan, and he owned several sections of land in the township of Lansing and had dammed the Grand River and constructed a saw mill at that point. The mill consisted of a rough, upright saw and was probably capable of cutting twelve or fifteen hundred feet of board in a day. There were no buildings in the township of six miles square except this mill and four small log houses. The township was pretty heavily timbered and was in every respect a wilderness. Seymour produced to the senators a written proposition that if the majority would locate the capitol on section nine in that township he would construct a capitol building for the state at his own expense as commodious as the one then occupied at Detroit and at his

own expense remove the furniture from Detroit to Lansing, and he accompanied this by a good and sufficient bond for its performance.

Probably by the advice of Mr. Bush, I was selected to introduce the bill and present this proposition to the House. The fact that I lived nearer to this unheard of place, Lansing, than any other member (it being seven miles from DeWitt) may have been the reason for selecting me. That I was young and had no enemies, and there being less reason to suspect a self-interest in me than in more experienced business men, was probably a still stronger reason. I introduced with the bill and proposition a map of all the settled ports of the state. On this map a bright red wafer was placed at the point called Lansing and from this point to each lake town was drawn a broad black line to each port and village on the Three Great Lakes. These lines were so large as to be seen across the hall of the House, and thus ocular demonstration was presented that Lansing was an extremely central point. In fact, on each of these black lines were large figures giving the distance from Lansing to each of the lake ports and towns. In presenting the propositions I read among other things a paper which recapitulated these distances, showing that Lansing was between ninety and one hundred miles from each one of these settled points on the lakes.

The first thing that was said after I had finished my remarks and sent the papers to the clerk's desk was by a Mr. Edmonds who was then a leading young member and was afterwards Post-Master of Washington, D. C., for many years. Mr. Edmonds said, "Mr. Speaker, will the clerk please read that table of distances again? I did not learn where that place is, although I learned it is a great ways from any other place." The clerk re-read the paper amid some merriment, the proposition being looked upon by most of the members of the House as an absurdity worthy of but little attention. But before the day was over the scheme of having a capitol building constructed gratuitously began to look like a formidable thing to

meet by those who were working for other localities, and that fact together with the favorable comment of a considerable number of senators not supposed committed in favor of Lansing began to make the proposition look at least respectable.

Another feature of the contest grew out of the fact that Lansing, not being a rival town but a mere point in a wilderness, excited no jealousy, and as the representatives of one town after another began to discover that their respective towns could not succeed, they seemed almost universally to be seized with a determination to prevent any rival town from carrying off the prize. Before many days Lansing had acquired quite a number of supporters from this cause. Bush was a very zealous and active worker for Lansing, partly from the feeling last mentioned but ostensibly because Howell, his place of residence and his county, generally were to be benefited, Howell being on the natural line of travel that would open between Lansing and Detroit, and he persuaded members similarly located to favor Lansing. Wayne County, including Detroit, was so populous as to have a large delegation. I think the number was eleven, and these together with the representatives of two or three other counties north of Wayne, including Port Huron, amounting to at least twenty, had placed themselves from motives of policy under the leadership of Mr. Throop, a member of the House from Detroit. He was a brother of Enos T. Troop, ex-governor of New York, a man of some ability who was then looked upon as a very able and experienced manager of affairs, although results proved him not very successful in the matter of the state capitol. Bush managed to send to him a gentleman who was really and decidedly in favor of Lansing. Throop supposed him anxious to secure the capitol at Detroit. This gentleman represented to him that the natural out-let of the trade of all the counties about Lansing was through Detroit, that all the representatives of those counties had to pass through Detroit to visit their relatives at the places of their nativity in the eastern and middle states, and if they were not driven away or swerved

by unnecessary opposition when they found their project of locating the capitol in that unsettled wilderness an impossibility, they would go for Detroit as a second choice. When Throop had had time to ruminate upon this, Bush casually met him and so led the conversation as to induce Throop to point out to Bush that the way of Bush and his constituents to the eastern world led through Detroit and, hence, Bush was standing in his own light in opposing Detroit. Bush says, "My interest would be served by locating it either at Howell or at Detroit but I do not say that we shall secure it at either place. The counties that favor Lansing have the same interest that my county has, and they are about the only counties outside of Wayne that have any real interest in locating the capitol at Detroit, but before the fight against Lansing is over I suppose they will be so swerved by you that we never can induce them to see their own interests. I never thought my way to get their support for Howell is by fighting them and voting against Lansing." The result of a good deal of management of this kind was to lead Throop to the conclusion that if the bill passed the House in its present form the senate would strike out Lansing, and the great contest in the House would be when the bill came back from the senate and that his true policy was to conciliate the representatives of Enghorne [Ingham?], Eaton, Clinton, and adjoining counties by voting for this bill. This accession of Throop and his friends made a very handsome majority for the bill in the lower House and we had long had the pledge of nine senators that if the bill so passed the House there should not be an "i" dotted or a "t" crossed in the senate.

By the time the bill reached the senate a great many towns had offered, like Seymour, to furnish bonds for the erection of a state house if the capital was given to them. In addition to this, very many town plats were exhibited and the lots offered for sale. Many, if not all of them, cautiously gave out that members of the legislature would be allowed to purchase conditionally and for nominal sums. Soon charges and counter-

charges of corruption and attempted corruption were heard in every direction. That town lots were offered on such terms to an almost unlimited extent everybody knew. Whether any of them was accepted by any member or senator directly or indirectly through their friends I never knew, but the apparent anxiety and timidity of some of them caused suspicion. I knew of only one attempt to make money by any member or senator out of the location. In that instance I was invited to participate but looked upon it as too questionable and declined. That attempt was made immediately on the passage of the bill by the House. The necessary sum was contributed by senators and members for the purchase price of school section No. 16 in the township of Lansing and an agent was sent to the land office to purchase it but the land office refused to sell. I knew that the money was tendered and refused but I never heard more in regard to it. I also went on the next Saturday from Detroit to DeWitt expecting to purchase from Milo Turner, as agent for the owner, about five sections of valuable timber lands situated near Lansing which Turner had a few months before urged me to buy at \$1.25 an acre. These being private lands, I thought the transaction not inconsistent with my official duty and one that I had a right to go into. But when I reached DeWitt, Turner was absent on a business trip to Chicago and I abandoned the attempt to purchase.

The bill to locate the capitol contained in short about four lines, a simple enactment that the capitol is hereby located in the town, designating it, but from the time it reached the senate it was the absorbing topic. After a very little time spent in debate a series of motions and roll calls commenced which were continued with very few and generally brief intervals of debate during about three weeks. This procedure was monotonous and yet nearly all the time very exciting. It was conducted as follows: a motion was made to strike out Lansing and insert, say, Marshall. This was followed by a motion to amend the amendment by striking out Marshall and

inserting, say, Saginaw. Upon call of the roll the motion to amend the amendment would fail and be followed by another motion to amend the amendment. Occasionally the sameness was relieved by an hour or two of debate, occasioned generally by something in the newspaper causing a senator to arise to a question of privilege to repel some accusation or insinuation of corruption or intrigue, and the personal explanation would frequently be followed for a time by a lively debate containing more or less innuendo and insinuations of corruption. With the exception of these interludes of debate filled with personalities and criminations and recriminations, this routine of a motion and a roll call continued.

During all this time it was known to me and a very few others that there were nine senators (within two of a majority) pledged that the bill should never be amended in the senate. Several of the nine senators were compelled by their home interests with their constituents to keep it a profound secret that they favored Lansing and they worked with all ardor and with all appearances of sincerity for their respective towns. As the motions, roll calls, and adverse votes demonstrated to one town after another that it was impossible for it to secure the capitol, the constituents of one after another of these senators came to acquiesce in the inevitable, and began to admit as the senator had long seen, that if the capitol could not be secured, the next best thing was to prevent its being secured by an active and rival town. During all these exciting days and nights but two senatorial votes were lacking to secure the location at Lansing, and they were most diligently sought and worked for especially by the nine committed and pledged senators. One of the two was finally obtained; a grave, honest, but rather stolid senator by the name of Balch, who had finally concluded that his constituents could not secure the prize, and he was casting about in a most anxious and conscientious way to determine what was his duty in making a second choice. Numerous men had interviewed him, especially those who favored Detroit, and he had

not been neglected by his nine colleagues who favored Lansing; and for two or three days he had been endeavoring to decide between the two places. Two men who favored Lansing but who pretended to be residents of Detroit and to favor that city took a position in one of the corridors of the state house so that Senator Balch in passing from a committee room on his way to his boarding house must necessarily overhear their conversation which they appeared to be carrying on in a very confidential but excited manner. In the little part of the conversation he heard, he caught something like the following: "Detroit is certain of it. We have the ten votes and the money is raised that will bring the eleventh. The balance of the ten thousand dollars is just paid in and is already." "Are you sure the money is raised?" "Sure, yes, I raised the last myself. It will be located tomorrow before eleven o'clock." Balch passed out.

The next morning Dr. Denton, a senator from Ann Arbor, as soon as the bill was reached arose to a question of privilege and in a most graphic manner stated that he had what he deemed most reliable information that the friends of Detroit felt secure of ten votes that were already agreed upon, and the same as counted, and that they were resorting to the most unblushing and nefarious means to carry their point by corruption; that it was an open secret with scarcely an attempt to keep it a secret, that ten thousand dollars was being offered for the eleventh vote and that the rumor pointed to two different senators, either of whose votes it was said could be had for that money. Senator Denton was a fluent and vehement speaker and he indulged in a most withering denunciation of this corrupt proposition, in a speech of about fifteen or twenty minutes, winding up with the declaration that the next roll call would "demonstrate to the world what creature of human form had sunk so low as to cover his name with infamy for the paltry sum of ten thousand dollars."

As the form of Senator Denton sank into his seat, that of Senator Balch came up and the latter said, "Mr. President, I

will let the citizens of Detroit know that they cannot have my vote for ten thousand dollars. Sir, I have heard of this dastardly proposition and I will let the citizens of Detroit know what one senator thinks of their dastardly corruption." Another senator whose name I do not now recollect, but who was not one of the nine, arose and with much heat and indignation made a similar declaration. There was an immediate demand for a roll call, the pending amendment to the amendment being rejected. In the midst of these startling announcements a call for the previous question was sustained which brought the senate to a vote, for the first time on the original motion, that is, to amend the bill, but striking out "Lansing". The vote stood 10—for and 11—against the motion. The question was then taken on the passage of the bill and it stood "yeas, 11"; "nos, 10", and Senator Bush, president pro tem, declared the bill passed.

At this distance of time it seems like a comparatively unimportant incident in the affairs of man, but it did not seem so to the actors at that time. To me and to my constituents in Clinton County, it was the opening and building of roads from Pontiac and Ann Arbor for seventy miles into the wilderness where we lived. It was opening for us a way to markets and bringing us again into connection with the civilization from which we had unwisely but voluntarily exiled ourselves. To the thousands of men who had been drawn from their homes to aid in securing the capitol and who had become partisans in the contest, it had become a matter of the most vital interest on which we were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement. The hall of the senate was crowded to the utmost capacity and hundreds of men on the outside were crowded together as near to the door as they could get. I well remember that during the brief space while the secretary of the senate counted and noted the votes, there was in that crowded hall the most absolute silence and the most eager watchfulness of every motion of his pen. I remember as if it were yesterday how president pro tem, Charles P. Bush, from

his seat of presiding officer often leaned forward and craned his neck over the work of the secretary, and how in his unconsciousness of all else but the work at hand he failed to wipe away the perspiration that covered his face and failed to notice the huge drop of sweat that balanced like a glittering jewel from the end of his nose as his eager gaze was riveted on the notes of the secretary.

At a public dinner given a few days afterwards in honor of the results of both senatorial election and the location, good feeling seemed to be in a great measure restored and in general the contending participants were in a great degree reconciled and there was much hilarity and good feeling, but occasionally jocular cruelty was indulged in. Among the most flagrant of these was a joke perpetrated by Honorable George W. Peck, then speaker of the House of Representatives (now the editor of a Democratic paper in Wisconsin) on Mr. Throop, the leader of the delegation of Wayne County who was roped into voting for Lansing in the expectation that it could not pass the senate. At a late hour when all were hilarious Mr. Peck gave the following toast: "The democracy of Wayne like the Romans of old, they placed a goose to guard the capitol."

EXTENSION WORK IN MICHIGAN

BY G. PEARL DARR

FREESOIL

(Publicity Chairman of Mason County Extension Clubs)

THE history of extension work in Mason County is representative of that throughout Michigan, presenting a fair picture of the adult social and educational life of rural women of all but two counties, Luce and Schoolcraft.

Extension work really began in 1849, when the Michigan State Agricultural Society advocated legislative aid for the education of farmers.

On April 2, 1850, the legislature did pass a resolution asking Congress to give Michigan 350,000 acres for agricultural schools.

That same year a provision was added to the state constitution which said "the legislature shall encourage the promotion of intellectual, scientific and agricultural improvement and shall as soon as possible, provide for the establishment of an Agricultural School."

The provision also said that for the purpose of raising the necessary funds the legislature could appropriate 22 sections of salt spring land.

Efforts were made to prevent the establishment of a separate agricultural school by combining it with other colleges but these efforts were ended by the argument of the secretary of the horticultural society, Honorable J. C. Holmes.

Mr. Holmes contended that the interest in agriculture exceeded all other interests in the state, therefore it was necessary to have an independent school in which to teach the science and practice of agriculture as the institution's main objective.

This article is based on information in an article by R. J. Baldwin, director of extension work; on an annual report of the state board of Agriculture and on figures learned through the writer's work as Mason County Publicity Chairman.

The college was reorganized in 1861 by a legislative act which provided that the state agricultural board might provide winter courses for others than the students.

It was not until 15 years later that faculty members met with farmers for discussions at meetings, termed winter institutes. The first of these was held in Armada and in Allegan. Six such institutes were held in a series lasting until 1889. Two years later 16 such schools were held throughout the state.

By 1895 the institutes were recognized by the legislature through an appropriation which was made to support this system of farm education. In the following year 70 institutes were conducted under the supervision of K. L. Butterfield. A four-day roundup followed the end of the season and this was probably the ancestor of our present Farmers' Week.

By 1898 the women were given separate institutes under the direction of Mrs. Mary A. Mayo.

Farmers' institutes from 1907 to 1917 were held under C. D. Smith and L. R. Taft. These grew in popularity giving the impetus for the birth of our present extension system.

It soon became apparent that specialists were needed who could always be at the farmers' service. Dean R. S. Shaw was the first to publish a plan for cattle improvement, and by 1907, W. F. Raven was made livestock field agent to organize pure bred sire associations. Inside of two years he was required to give his full time to the work and farm crop and horticultural field agents were added to the staff.

Extension work for boys and girls began as early as 1908 when corn growing clubs were organized in Mason and Muskegon counties with 350 boys participating. Junior agricultural associations were the beginning of 4-H work and interest in extension work grew through high school agricultural courses.

The whole plan of extension work was to give as quickly as possible to farmers and their wives scientific facts which would help them both on the farm and in their homes.

Women's extension groups were first organized in Mason County in the fall of 1925, by county agricultural agent O. G. Barrett. Miss Julia Brekke, Michigan State College specialist, met at the county agent's office in Scottville with leaders from various communities and taught the making of dress forms.

These leaders within a week had invited the women of their various neighborhoods to meet at one of their homes where they might relay the demonstration in which they had participated.

Throughout the winter these meetings gradually came to take the place of rural social activities. Usually the meetings were all day affairs with pot luck dinners served at noon. Early in the spring of 1926 one or two demonstrations were given to leaders on salads and jello dishes.

That spring the county agent office was abandoned for the time being but Mason County women had become interested in extension work. The county committee contacted the state home demonstration leader, Mrs. Louise Campbell, and signified its intention of carrying on the work regardless of whether there was a county agent or not. By September, 16 groups were ready to send two leaders each to the training school in Scottville. After this there was no question as to the success of women's extension work in Mason County.

Members ranged from 17 years to 80 years and a number of charter members who enrolled in the fall of 1925 are still members of the first groups they joined.

Mason County women's groups have taken the following projects:

- 1925-1926—Dress forms—Salad and jello demonstrations.
- 1926-1927—Sewing Machines and their Care.
- 1927-1928—Sewing-Stressing pockets.
- 1928-1929—Sewing
- 1929-1930—Nutrition I
- 1930-1931—Nutrition II
- 1931-1932—Home Furnishing I
- 1932-1933—Home Furnishing II

1933-1934—Home Management I

1934-1935—Home Management II

1935-1936—Nutrition III

1936-1937—Home Furnishing III

1937-1938—Clothing III

Each club has its own set of officers; two leaders, one alternate leader, a president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer.

Early each spring plans are made for an Achievement Day. Committees are chosen to arrange a program, exhibits and dinner. A nominating committee chooses a set of officers which are presented to the leaders at an early meeting. The leaders then call for an election of county officers at their local meetings. The results are sent to the county agent who tabulates the vote and on Achievement day announces the county committee chosen.

Because most farm women like to do some outside work with flower and vegetable gardens, working in the fruit harvest or caring for poultry, shorter housekeeping methods especially appealed to them.

How to be a better homemaker and at the same time have some leisure for keeping up to the minute on current events with their children and husbands was a recipe they were anxious to try.

Another lure was the thought of the unusual contact with women all over the county, through their leader's training schools and Achievement Days.

Often farm women's domestic troubles arise not so much because the troubles are serious but because the many hum-drum tasks give them an opportunity to brood.

Getting out with other women at their meetings, who have the same or more difficult problems and the resulting interchange of ideas, gives the moody housewife an entirely new slant on her own affairs and she learns how to meet the conditions of a changing world.

The tiresome subject of three meals a day, 365 days in the year, becomes more attractive through "Planning the Family

Meals" and "Common Sense Eating" in the Nutrition project.

Many women taking the Home Furnishing project found ways to return to usefulness furniture stored away in attics for a generation or more. They learned to refinish such furniture and to make slip covers for other pieces.

As a result of extension work, figures for 1937-1938 show a total of 1,119 homemade kitchen conveniences in the 81 counties.

Over 3,000 homemade materials for cleaning woodwork, painted walls and silver polishing, gave women simpler, cheaper more efficient methods in keeping homes clean.

Over 2,700 women studied well balanced meals, and purchasing of food for health and economy.

Child management group meetings were attended by 6,357 fathers and mothers.

That rural women are still interested in sewing is shown by the fact that 5,834 members attended extension sewing projects in 1937-1938, resulting in a saving of \$10,398.61, through doing much of their own and their families' sewing in remodeling old clothing and making new.

Extension service is a cooperative enterprise between Michigan State College and the United States department of agriculture organized under the federal Smith-Lever Act and the "General Memorandum of Understanding" signed by the president of the College and Federal Secretary of Agriculture on July 14, 1914.

According to the Smith-Lever Act, "Cooperative agricultural extension shall consist of the giving of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to persons not attending or resident in said colleges in the several communities and imparting to such persons information on said subjects through field demonstrations, publications and otherwise."

Funds are supplied to support extension work through the Smith-Lever Act; the Federal Supplementary Smith-Lever act; the Federal Capper Ketcham act; the Additional, Cooperative

act; the United States Clark-McNary act; through state appropriations and county appropriations.

Many women who at first had been lukewarm on the subject of extension classes, finding that funds were appropriated for the work whether they took advantage of it or not, decided they might as well become beneficiaries of the service.

Until 1936 Mason County women's extension groups had been composed of members with a wide range of ages but that year a group of 10 young matrons formed a junior club, their children with them, caring for them, as the need arises between instructions of the leaders.

According to Miss Edna V. Smith, present state home demonstration leader, Genesee County has the largest number of women enrolled in extension work and Houghton and Keeweenaw counties the least.

There is a total state enrollment of 22,000 taking various projects in the 1938-1939 classes.

No one project seems the most popular, though some phases of home furnishing or clothing stand out somewhat over other projects.

Legal laws pertaining to women have interested many.

Lighting problems and choosing electrical equipment seems to take first place where the R. E. A. project is uppermost.

Extension work in Michigan has made happier, healthier, better arranged farm homes; made them more convenient by time saving devices, and made these rural home makers as well dressed and well groomed as their urban sisters.

Project lessons have taught extension members the use of Michigan foods like tomatoes, in place of citrus fruit, as a more economical health source.

The use of milk, whole grain cereals, home canned fruits, vegetables, and meats are stressed in all nutrition lessons.

The home management subject has taken into consideration the small incomes available, and taught women how much of the living should be produced at home and how much to buy.

It has offered help in planning and producing the living and how to get the most out of the money they spend.

Extension work has given the family an armour against discouragement and helped to keep the home an important base for advancement.

AMONG THE BOOKS

THE OLD NORTHWEST AS THE KEYSTONE OF THE ARCH OF AMERICAN FEDERAL UNION. By A. L. Kohlmeier. The Principia Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1938. pp. 257. Price \$2.50.

A distinct and important contribution to the economic study of the Old Northwest. Special attention to movement of agricultural products to eastern and international markets and the bearing of this factor upon political alignments, particularly in the clash of North and South in Civil War. Shows that the states of the Old Northwest needed sectional balance of power and hence preservation of the Union. Much attention to the growth and development of railroads.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE CIVIL WAR. VOL. V, 1888-1901. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. Macmillans, N. Y., 1937, pp. 791. Price \$4.50.

Previous volumes of this work have been reviewed in the Magazine. This is the final volume. The entire series makes a useful reference work. Volume V has abundant detail but lacks adequate synthesis and interpretation. Footnotes reveal little use of many available sources, particularly manuscript collections and archival materials. Viewpoint is distinctly conservative. Author seems to lack understanding of underlying social and economic forces of this period. Little sympathy with farm labor movements.

WOMEN OF THE WILDERNESS. By Margaret Bell. E. P. Dutton Co. N. Y., 1938, pp. 384. Price \$3.50.

A pleasing narrative of the lives of outstanding women in pioneer Plymouth and Boston. Belongs rather to literature than to history. Fairly accurate in historical setting but imaginative in many details. A vivid picture of trials, hardships, courage, achievements of pioneer New England women under men's tyranny in the home, community and church.

SOME LASALLE JOURNEYS. By Jean Dalanglez. Pub. by Institute of Jesuit History, Chicago, 1938, pp. 103.

Volume one of *Studies of the Institute of Jesuit History*, Loyola University. Aims to show that LaSalle was not the original discoverer of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Shows LaSalle controlled by a group

of men in France, among them Abbé Eusébe Renaudot and Abbé Claude Bernou, from whose letters the volume is largely written.

GEORGE MASON, CONSTITUTIONALIST. By Helen Hill. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, pp. 300. Price \$3.50.

Specially interesting to Michigan readers as a study of the life of the great-grandfather of Stevens T. Mason, Michigan's first state governor. Thomas Jefferson wrote of George Mason, that he was "a man of the first order of wisdom among those who acted on the theatre of the Revolution, of expansive mind, profound judgment, cogent in argument, learned in the lore of our former constitution and earnest for the republican changes on democratic principles." The volume is pleasingly illustrated and contains a brief bibliography.

SWEDES IN AMERICA, 1638-1938. Edited by Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1938, pp. 614. Price \$3.

A cooperative work by 39 contributors published to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the first Swedish settlements in America. Contains data of interest to Swedish people covering 300 years of material and institutional growth since those early beginnings in the 17th century. Much eulogy; some errors; not properly interpretive of Swedish-American history, but a useful reference book.

SCHOOL HISTORIES AT WAR. By Arthur Walworth. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, pp. 92. Price \$1.25.

A book every high school teacher of history should know. A comparative study of American and foreign treatments of international events in which the United States has been concerned. The aim is to show how different national backgrounds affect attitudes and in some cases become an international peril. An excellent book to arouse in students critical awareness regarding both international and domestic relations.

MEDICAL MEMORIES OF 50 YEARS IN KALAMAZOO. By Dr. Rush McNair, Kalamazoo. Pages 93. Price 50 cents.

Delightful reminiscences by the "dean" of doctors in Kalamazoo, who says, "I am not so anxious to be counted old that I would rob any

doctor of such honors," as being called "dean." These sketches brought together between covers were first published by the *Kalamazoo Gazette* during the period of its recent Centennial. They begin with 1887.

Magazine articles of interest to Michigan readers: "Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, Dominican of the Frontier," by Gilbert J. Garraghan, in *Mid-America*, October, 1938; "The Ordinance of 1787," by Theodore C. Pease, *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, Sept., 1938; "The Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark, 1786-1787," by L. C. Helderman, *Ibid.*, December, 1938.